RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

SYMEONIS MONACHI OPERA OMNIA.

HISTORIA ECCLESIÆ DUNHELMENSIS.

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Simeon of Durham.

SYMEONIS MONACHI OPERA OMNIA.

HISTORIA ECCLESIÆ DUNHELMENSIS.

635–1096

EADEM HISTORIA DEDUCTA, INCERTO AUCTORE, USQUE AD A.D. MCXLIV.
SEQUUNTUR VARII TRACTATUS, IN QUIBUS DE SANCTO CUTHBERTO ET DUNELMO AGITUR.
EPISTOLA SYMEONIS DE ARCHIEPISCOPIS EBORACI.

CARMEN ÆÐELWULFI.
VITA S. BARTHOLOMÆI.
VITA S. OSWALDI REGIS ET MARTYRIS.

VOL. I.

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EDIDIT

THOMAS ARNOLD, M.A.
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INTRODUCTION.

PUBLIC

INTRODUCTION.

The present volume requires no very elaborate or lengthened statement by way of introduction.

Contents of the present volume.

§ 1. Of the two important works usually—and, I believe, rightly—attributed to Symeon, viz. the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ* and the *Historia Regum*,[1] the former appears in this volume, accompanied by the various pieces appended to it in Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*, by the two narratives first printed in Bedford's volume of 1732, (whereof one relates the invasion of the see by William Cumin in 1141, the other describes the harsh treatment of bishop William by William Rufus in 1087,) and by some chapters on the miracles and translations of St. Cuthbert. In the Appendix are printed; 1. The poem by Æðelwulf on the abbots of his cell, of which the only existing printed version is that in Mabillon's *Acta SS. Benedictinorum*; 2. A life of Bartholomew the anchorite of Farne, printed by the Bollandists under June 24 from a MS. imperfect at the end; 3. Portions of the life of St. Oswald the Northumbrian king, by Reginald a monk of Durham; this has never been printed.

Life of Symeon.

§ 2. Before proceeding with the description of these various pieces, and the reasons why some of them appear here, it will be convenient to state all that is

[1] First published by Twysden in the *Decem Scriptores* (1652), again, in part, in the *Monum. Hist. Britan.*, and more recently in a carefully edited volume printed by the Surtees Society (1868); of all these editions mention will be made in the Introduction to Vol. II.

known of the writer of the first and principal work in the collection. This amounts to very little. No one has recorded the year either of Symeon's birth, or of his death. That he was at Jarrow during some part of the period of nine years (1074–1083) passed there by the monastic community formed by Aldwin of Winchcomb, before its removal to Durham, we know from his own statement.[1] "We remember," he says in the *Historia Regum*, under 1121, "when Wulmar[2] a monk "of our congregation, and other brothers in their turns "crossed over thither [to Tynemouth] from Jarrow, "to celebrate the divine worship there. Our brothers "also brought over whenever they pleased the bones "of St. Oswin to their house at Jarrow, and took them "back again when they thought fit to their former "resting-place. Lastly, when Albri had received the "honor of the earldom, he also granted to us, after "our removal to Durham, the same place." He also says that he had often heard the descendants of the old followers of St. Cuthbert sing in the church of Durham in their peculiar style in the days of bishop Walcher.[3] It seems likely, from the manner in which Symeon dwells on the motives of the fervent disciples,

Probably a native of some

[1] Quoted by Thomas Rud at p. xxxi. of Bedford's *Symeon*.

[2] Wulmar's is the fifth name on the list of monks professed at Durham; see p. 4; he must therefore have been much senior to Symeon, who is thirty-eighth.

[3] See p. 57. It is unnecessary to infer from this passage with Mr. Hinde (Surtees ed. of Symeon, p. v.) that Symeon was a "resident at Durham" before the removal of the monastery from Jarrow. The distance from the two places is only fifteen or sixteen miles; it is certain that any Jarrow monk visiting Durham would have been treated as a welcome and favoured guest by the bishop; moreover, the charter quoted below in § 5 shows that as far back as 1075 preparations were being made, in which the bishop was seconded by all the great lay lords of the Patrimony of St. Cuthbert, for removing Aldwin and his monks as soon as possible to Durham. There is therefore no difficulty in supposing that Symeon, though living at Jarrow, might have often heard the singing at Durham.

chiefly from the southern counties, who came and placed themselves under Aldwin at Jarrow, after 1074, to be trained in monastic virtue, that he was himself one of them. After describing the life of hardship and poverty which Aldwin and his two companions from Evesham had begun to lead among the ruins of Jarrow, he says (p. 109)—"Meantime many, fired by their "example, renouncing the world, received from them "the monk's habit, and learned under the training of "regular discipline to be Christ's soldiers. A few of "these belonged to Northumbria, but a larger number "were from the southern parts of England, men who, "going forth after the example of Abraham from their "country, and from their kindred, and from their "fathers' house, desired to enter the land of promise, "that is, their country on high, having Aldwin as their "master in the religious life." A character of Aldwin, which seems to breathe the loving admiration and loyalty of a former disciple, follows. southern county.

§ 3. There is a corresponding passage, entering into fuller detail with regard to external events and acts, but saying little as to actuating motives, in the *Historia Regum*.[1] "Many," he there writes, after describing the settlement at Jarrow, "leaving the secular life, engaged "themselves along with the three in the monastic war-"fare. But few of these belonged to the province; the "greater number, attracted by their reputation from "remote districts of England, joined themselves to them "with one accord." Yet although Symeon may probably be regarded as one of these fervent neophytes from the south, and although he certainly was at Jarrow for some time before the removal to Durham in 1083, it would seem that he was not a professed monk till some time after that event. For the total number of Date of his profession.

[1] An. 1074.

monks who came in from Jarrow and Wearmouth to Durham was only twenty-three (p. 122); and these may be supposed to correspond to the twenty-three first names on the list of monks (p. 4); but Symeon's name stands thirty-eighth. The only explanation that occurs to me is, that, during his stay at Jarrow, Symeon was, either from his own desire, or because Aldwin wished to test his vocation more thoroughly, a "clericus inter monachos degens," as Turgot (p. 111) had been before him, and that he was not regularly professed till two or three years after the establishment of the monastery at Durham,[1] *i.e.* till 1085 or 1086. If we suppose him to have been about twenty-five years old at the time of his profession, his birth will fall towards the year 1060; this is also Mr. Rud's opinion.

He is present at the translation of 1104.

§ 4. In 1104 Symeon was one of the nine monks appointed by the convent, in anticipation of the solemn translation of the relics, to open the coffin and examine the state of the body of St. Cuthbert. Perhaps his literary gift had something to do with his selection, for among those present it would be desirable that there should be some one capable of describing in Latin, fluently and clearly, all that they saw. For the resulting narrative, which may well have been written by him, though we cannot prove it, *see* p. 247. Reginald, who, writing his "Libellus" on St. Cuthbert about

[1] Mr. Hinde (p. vi) thinks that the first thirty-eight names, down to Symeon's inclusive, represent the total number of monks professed, whether at Jarrow or Wearmouth, since Aldwin's arrival in Northumbria in 1074, and that deaths or departures may have reduced the number to twenty-three, of whom Symeon was one. But the words which precede the list on p. 4, "nomina monachorum in hac ec-"clesia *ad incorrupti corporis sanc-*"*tissimi Cuthberti præsentiam jam* "*professorum*," make it impossible, I think, to accept this explanation. Besides, it is certain that the name of Reinfrid (p. 111.) would, if Mr. Hinde's view were correct, have appeared on the list; and also that of Eadred, who is mentioned as a monk at Jarrow in the passage from the *Historia Regum* cited above.

sixty years later, had made diligent enquiry about all the circumstances of the translation from monks who had known the original nine, says that, "when the holy "body was placed on the carpets and cloths, Symeon, "who held a wax candle with a candlestick, with "streaming tears kept ever imprinting kisses on those "holy feet." This one glimpse of the individual man, Symeon, who is otherwise so shadowy to us, seemed too characteristic and interesting to be omitted.

§ 5. There can be no doubt that from the time of his joining the community Symeon was thoroughly devoted, not only to the cause of religion, as by it represented and sustained, but also to the territorial and political interests of the brotherhood. It has been seen above with what minuteness he can recall, when writing his general history more than 40 years afterwards, the circumstances proving the original grant of St. Mary's Tynemouth to the monks of Jarrow, and the free exercise by them during several years, and in various forms, of the rights of ownership. A passage at p. 124 seems to show that he considered the monastery, in spite of bishop William's benefactions, to be insufficiently endowed. His political shrewdness is illustrated by an erasure in the Durham MS., the meaning of which was not at first apparent to me. With reference to the grant of this same Tynemouth church, he uses the words—according to the present text of D.— "donantibus Northym-"briæ comitibus," by the donation of earls of Northumbria.[1] The words "donantibus" and "comitibus" show signs of erasure, and a word has been erased after "comi-"tibus." Now we know, both from a statement to that effect in the *Historia Regum* under 1121, and from a charter (No. IX.) published in the Surtees volume *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, that the donor of St. Mary's Tynemouth to the Jarrow monks was earl Waltheof the

Symeon a monk.

[1] See p. 124.

son of Siward. There can be little doubt that Symeon wrote at first "donante Northumbriæ comite Walteofo," and that "Walteofo" is the erased word. The Saxon Waltheof was implicated in the treason of the Norman earls de Guader and FitzOsbern, and was executed in 1076. On revising his work, it probably occurred to Symeon, or was suggested to him, that a gift coming from such a man was not, in the eyes of a Norman Government and a Norman judiciary, a very safe foundation on which to rest a title to property. Hence he resolved to suppress the name of Waltheof, and altered what he had written to "donantibus Northymbriæ comitibus."[1]

He writes a history of the church of Durham,

§ 6. Between 1104 and 1108—the date cannot be fixed more nearly—Symeon was engaged at the command of superiors, by whom Turgot, the prior, and Algar, the sub-prior, are probably meant, in composing the History of the Church of Durham. He brought it down to the death of William of St. Carilef (1096) and there stopped; prudently abstaining from entangling himself in the history of the episcopate of the rapacious Ranulf le Flambard, who held the see while he was writing, and till 1128 or 1129.

and a general history.

Many years afterwards—incited, probably, by the examples of Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury—Symeon undertook to write a chronicle of Northumbrian affairs from the point where Beda stops, A.D. 731. In the earlier portion he made use of some work written probably at Chester-le-Street, by a Cuth-

[1] The Cotton MS. (Faustina A. 5.) which is a copy of D., has here "donante Walchero episcopo cum "comitatum regeret." The motive of this reading is the same, namely, to suppress the connexion of Waltheof with the grant of Tynemouth; and it is so far justified by fact, that in the charter above mentioned the name of Walcher appears as the confirmer of the grant, though not as the donor. But how this reading found its way into the Cotton MS. it is impossible to say; considerations of space show that it was not copied from the Durham MS.

bertine monk of the tenth century; he also transcribed freely from Asser's Life of Alfred, and finding as the work proceeded that his materials were scanty, he seems to have thought it the best plan to make Florence's recent work the basis and staple of his own, adding to it notices of Northumbrian affairs, and a few other matters. But these, as well as the question whether he really brought his history down to 1129 or only to 1121, are points of which the discussion must be reserved to the next volume.

§ 7. Besides these two histories, and the tracts on the Siege of Durham and the Archbishops of York, Bale attributes to Symeon a book of Letters to one Elmer, an ecclesiastic of Christ Church Canterbury. This work does not appear to be now extant. The Elmer meant is probably the prior of Christ Church of that name, who, according to Gervase of Canterbury, died in 1137. Other works.

Nothing else is known of Symeon, who must have been an old man by the time he finished the *Historia Regum*, and probably died about 1130.

§ 8. A list of the MSS. of the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ* will be found at p. 77 of the second volume of Sir T. D. Hardy's Catalogue. To these must be added Fairfax VI. in the Bodleian Library. The Durham MS. (D. in this edition) which, by the kind permission of the trustees of Bishop Cosin's Library, I was allowed to have in my possession for several months, is probably the authentic and original text of the work. Mr. Rud believes it to have been written, if not by Symeon himself, under his immediate direction. The original hand stops at "agebatur," at the end of Symeon's fourth book. The next hand, if I am not mistaken, stops at "restituta" (p. 141), that is, at the end of the episcopate of Ralph the Flambard. A third hand continues the narrative to "susceptus est" (p. 160), *i.e.* to the installation of bishop William of St. Barbara in 1144. Manuscripts. The Durham MS.

The Cottonian MS.

Of the Cottonian MS. Faustina A. 5., and that in the Cambridge University Library (F. and C. in this edition), little need be said. F. is a very early copy of the Durham MS. retaining a few passages which have been erased in the latter; see pages 70, 92, 111, 122. It ends at the termination of the fourth book.[1] The Cambridge MS., written in a late twelfth century hand, contains, besides the *Hist. Dun.*, all that Twysden printed in connexion with it, and also the poem of Æðelwulf, printed in the present volume. On these two MSS. Twysden, not being aware of the existence of the valuable text at Durham, founded his edition.

The Cambridge MS.

The Bodleian MSS.

§ 9. Among MSS. of the *Historia Dunelmensis* Sir T. D. Hardy reckons Bod. 521 ; but this, as explained in the Introduction to Henry of Huntingdon, § 36, (Rolls edition), is a text of what I have there called "the Marianist Chronicle," and whatever of Symeon it contains is from the *Historia Regum*, not the *Historia Dunelmensis*. On the other hand, the catalogue does not mention a complete text of the last named work in the important MS., Fairfax VI.[2] This is, for the most part, a Durham compilation of the fourteenth century. Nearly half the volume consists of a work "De gestis episcoporum Dunelmensium" in one hundred and eighty-four chapters, compiled and arranged, probably, by Robert de Greystanes, in 1336; together with a continuation by an unknown hand in twenty seven chapters, bringing down the work to the time of Cuthbert Tunstall. The first ninety-six chapters consist of the *Historia Dunelmensis* of Symeon, with this difference only, that in the places where Symeon refers to another authority, namely to the work on Miracles and Translations, for a fuller account of what he is writing of, this fuller account is bor-

Fairfax VI.

The large history "De Gestis episcoporum."

[1] This MS. formerly belonged to Fountains Abbey, to which it was given by William de Coutton, prior of Durham between 1332 and 1341.

[2] Fx. in this edition.

rowed from that work and inserted in full in the work of Greystanes. Thus chapters I. IV. V. VII. XII. of the Liber Translationum, as printed in the Surtees volume, are here inserted in II. 10 and 13, III. 11 and 24, and IV. 4 of Symeon's history. Chapters 97–107 are the continuation of Symeon to 1144; see below, pp. 135–160. Chapters 108–131 are the historical work of Geoffrey the Sacrist, of Coldingham, on the church of Durham, from 1144 to 1213. This Geoffrey, who was probably identical with the author of the life of Bartholomew the hermit (p. 295), may be presumed to have died about the time at which his work terminates. The thread of the narrative was taken up by Robert de Greystanes, who composed chapters 132–184, and stops in 1336. William Chambre[1] added a long supplemental passage on the episcopate of the great scholar Richard de Bury (1335–1345), which comes in as a sort of continuation of ch. 184. Two hundred years later, some Durham ecclesiastic, probably one of the canons ejected for refusing the oath of supremacy, after the accession of Elizabeth, continued the narrative in twenty-seven additional chapters, in the form of brief notices of the bishops and priors, from the priorate of William Coutton or Cowton, to the death of Thomas Sparke, Tunstall's suffragan bishop, in 1571.

Laud 700, a transcript apparently of Fairfax VI., made in the time of Bishop Fordham (1382–1388), has the history in 184 chapters, arranged exactly as in that MS., except that, like the Durham MS., it inserts the tract *De Injusta Vexatione* in the middle of Symeon's last chapter, whereas the Fairfax MS. gives it separately. The additional twenty-seven chapters are also in Laud 700. Laud 700.

§ 10. Another copy of the same extended history (not mentioned in Hardy's catalogue) is in the York Chapter A York MS.

[1] Flourished in 1365; see p. xiv. of the *Hist. Dun. Scriptores Tres.*

Library (XVI. 1. 12). From this MS. the late Dr. Raine edited the histories of Geoffrey and Robert de Greystanes, the chapter by William Chambre, and all the concluding portion down to 1571, for the Surtees Society, under the title "Historiæ Dunelmensis Scriptores "Tres." These portions had been already printed, but with culpable inaccuracy, in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*. Like everything edited by Dr. Raine, the volume just mentioned, which has a large Appendix of valuable documents connected with Durham, is a work of great research, accuracy, and usefulness.

Titus A. II. Titus A. II. (T. in this edition) contains a copy of Symeon's history made in the time of bishop Antony de Bek (1283–1311), followed by the continuation to 1144, and the history of Geoffrey of Coldingham; all these are in the same hand. Then comes, in a much later hand, the history of Robert de Graystanes, and Chambre's supplemental chapter; but this MS. does not contain the later additions carrying on the work into the sixteenth century.

Harl. 1924. Harl. 1924 is a small volume, in a hand of the twelfth century, containing, besides an imperfect copy of Beda's prose life of St. Cuthbert, those seven chapters on the Miracles and Translations which are printed below, p. 229. After these, in a hand about a century later, occurs the account of a miracle which happened to two clerks from Norway. Fairfax VI. has a copy of all the twenty-one chapters on Miracles, &c., as printed in the Surtees volume. Hence some of these occur twice over in the MS.; for, as already mentioned, chapters I, IV, V, VII, and XII are worked into the 184 chapters of the extended History.

Bodl. 163. § 11. Bodl. 163, a text of the tenth century, contains (along with a copy of Beda's *Ecclesiastical History*) the curious Latin poem by Æðelwulf printed at p. 265. It is full of blunders, but gives on the whole a better text than the Cambridge MS. (C.), a transcript of which was printed

by Mabillon in the *Acta SS. Benedictinorum.* Moreover, on carefully comparing the two together, each enables us to eliminate many of the errors of the other. The version in C. is of later date by about two centuries than that in the Bodleian MS.

In the earlier portion of the Fairfax MS. occur the Life of Bartholomew (p. 295), and that of St. Oswald, king and martyr (p. 324). Of both of these, and of nearly everything else that the Fairfax volume contains, except the extended Durham history, we have a curious transcript (Harl. 4853) made by a Durham monk, John Tode or Toode, early in the sixteenth century. Near the end of the volume is a sermon by Tode on death, with the date 1528.

Harl. 4853.

So far respecting the more important MSS. used for the present volume. Of the various pieces which it contains some account must now be given.

The history of the church of Durham.

§ 12. I. *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ.* This history must have been written between the date of the translation of the relics (1104), of which the writer (p. 34) speaks as an eye witness, and 1109. For in the passage at p. 111, erased from D., but found in F., Turgot is spoken of as still prior; but in 1109 he became bishop of St. Andrew's. The materials used are—Beda's Ecclesiastical History and prose Life of St. Cuthbert; "alia opuscula," such as the collection of Miracles on which the writer so frequently draws; the "seniorum traditio" (p. 19); the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (p. 72); and the "antiquorum dicta" (p. 51), by which appear to be meant the old Northumbrian annals extending from the death of Beda to the time of Charlemagne. The style is good and clear, giving the impression that the writer was a man of sincere and elevated character. For the history of events in the north of England during the thirty years following the Danish invasion of 875, on which the Saxon Chronicles tells us almost nothing,

Symeon in this work supplies much valuable information not to be found elsewhere.

Selden's attempt to prove Turgot to be the writer.

§ 13. It would be unnecessary to advert to the futile attempt made by Selden (in his critical introduction to Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*) to claim for Prior Turgot the authorship of the History of the Church of Durham, after the complete exposure and refutation which it received at the hands of Mr. Rud in 1732, were it not that in a popular and in many respects meritorious work—"English Writers, from the Conquest to Chaucer," 1866—Professor Henry Morley, ignorant apparently of the existence of Rud's treatise, has revived and endorsed Selden's absurd and injurious theory. "Turgot," he says, ... "wrote a clear history of the "Monastery of Durham, *to which Simeon of Durham "put his own name fifty years afterwards*." "John "Selden," he adds, "began [his introduction] by prov-"ing Turgot to be in fact the author of the work to "which Simeon prefixed an Apology and Preface, and ". . . . . made also some inconsiderable changes." If Mr. Morley read what Selden wrote, and then believed him to have made good his case, I can only say that his notion of what constitutes "proof" is very different from mine. If he did not read it, but took Selden's word for the conclusions at which he arrives, he cannot be acquitted of undue precipitancy in propagating without examination as unfounded a calumny as was ever brought against a literary man.

The matter is very simple, and may be disposed of by showing (1) what grounds Selden had for assigning the authorship to Turgot, (2) what grounds he had for imputing deceit and plagiarism to Symeon, (3) what is the nature of the evidence in favour of Symeon's authorship.

His reasons examined.

1. To the first point it must be answered that Selden produces no reason for calling Turgot the author that will stand a moment's examination. He finds the work

ascribed to him in certain MSS.[1] But by whom? by Sir Robert Cotton, and perhaps another, writing in the seventeenth century, more than five hundred years after Turgot's time. They had no more means of ascertaining the authorship of a work of the twelfth century than we have; indeed they were in a less good position, owing to the publication of numberless works in later times throwing side lights on all such questions. Another reason for regarding Turgot as the author is, in Selden's view, the absence of all laudatory expressions when his name is mentioned. A contemporary monk, he thinks, could not have so written of so excellent a man; in the good prior himself this modesty was to be expected. It is hardly necessary to reply to such an argument as this; if the writer was another than Turgot, he may have had many motives for speaking in a measured way of his prior of which it is impossible that we can know anything. As Mr. Rud says, Symeon—if the writer was Symeon—compiling the history under the orders of his superiors, may have known that anything like flattery or direct praise of the prior would be offensive to him rather than acceptable.

His mistaken opinion about Symeon's age.

2. Selden attributes deceit to Symeon, in that he declares him to have omitted, when he resolved to annex and re-edit Turgot's history, an important sentence, the retention of which would have convicted him of appropriating another man's work. This sentence may be seen at p. 111, note *a*. It merely shows that the author wrote before 1109, but there is nothing in it tending to fix the authorship on Turgot or Symeon, or any one else. But, says Selden, it could not have been written by Symeon, who was of much later date. But this is Selden's mistake, the origin of which we shall explain presently. Symeon was not of later date. He

[1] The Cottonian MSS. Faustina A. 5., Titus A. II., and Vespasian A. VI.

was one of the nine monks who, with Turgot the prior, were present at the examination of the relics of St. Cuthbert in 1104. That the writer of the history (p. 34) distinctly states this fact of himself, is indeed alleged by Selden as a proof that it could not have been Symeon. But it happens that we have independent testimony to the statement that Symeon was at the translation. For Reginald ("Libellus," &c., ch. 40) gives the names of the nine monks who attended Turgot on that occasion, and among them is the name of Symeon.[1] Selden thought it impossible that Symeon could have been present, for this one reason and no other, that he put faith in Bale's words, "Claruit [Symeon] anno "1164, in quo historiam finiebat, sub Henrico rege An- "glorum secundo." A man who flourished in 1164 could hardly have taken part in an important ceremony in 1104. But like so many other statements in Bale, this date is erroneous; and Selden ought to have tested it before founding upon it a charge against Symeon. The source of the error was pointed out by Sir T. Duffus Hardy.[2] The initial rubric of the Corpus MS. of the *Historia Regum* states that the history extends from the death of Beda to that of Henry I., "that is, four hundred and twenty-nine years and four "months." Beda died in 735; adding 429 years, we get the date 1164. Bale must have seen this MS. and made this calculation, but did not observe that, as Henry I. died in 1135, the period between his death and Beda's was only 400, not 429 years! Probably the copyist of the MS. (which is unique) inserted his own date, the time at which he was writing, for the true one. Such, and no more, is the foundation for the assertion that Symeon "flourished in 1164." If he

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[1] There is only one Symeon in the list of professed monks at Durham (p. 4), which covers the period between 1083 and 1170, or thereabouts.

[2] *Descriptive Catal.* II., 177.

died between thirty and forty years earlier, he might have been present at the translation of 1104, and all those marks of contemporary authorship, which induced Selden to ascribe the book to Turgot, would tell equally well in favour of Symeon.

Evidence in favour of Symeon's authorship.

3. The only positive evidence that Symeon was the author is the statement to that effect in the Cambridge MS.; but, in the absenee of any counter presumption, that is sufficient. In the rubrics before the Epitome ("Regnante apud, &c.) and the History itself, and at the end of the fourth book, the author is said to have been Symeon. This MS. was written towards the end of the twelfth century, perhaps about sixty years after Symeon's death. No testimony approaching to this in antiquity is producible, naming any one else as the author. If indeed Symeon had not been among the monks present at the translation of 1104, we could not well have put faith in the rubrics, since the author of the History states that *he* was present at it. But we know from the independent testimony of Reginald that Symeon was there. It comes, therefore, to this: only one of the ten men, including Turgot, present at the translation, could have written the history. It could not have been Turgot, because the writer says he undertook the task in obedience to his superior, "majorum auctoritate jussus,"[1] language which could not have been used by the prior. Of the nine others, (see their names at p. 249) there is not one except Symeon who is known to have written anything; and Symeon is named as the writer of the History in a text of the same century. These considerations, though not amounting to demonstration, are sufficient to satisfy any reasonable inquirer.

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[a] Selden, to avoid the force of this argument, assumed that this preface was added by the dishonest Symeon to the work many years after its first composition. But a moment's inspection of the Durham MS. shows this view to be untenable.

Continuations of Symeon's history.

§ 14. II. The first continuation, (p. 135), giving an account of bishop Ranulf more favourable on the whole than the picture drawn by other chroniclers, and of the intrusion of William Cumin in 1141, was written by some Durham monk, probably not long after the restoration of peace and order which followed the installation of William of St. Barbara. It is contained in the MSS. D., T., Fx., and Laud 700; and the first portion of it, as far as the commencement of the story of Cumin, is also found in C. Only this portion was printed by Twysden. It was first printed entire by Mr. Bedford in his edition of Symeon's History of the Church of Durham, published in 1732.[1] The second continuation, which, from the point where it diverges from the first, seems to be little more than an abridgment of it, but adds some particulars about William of St. Barbara and Hugh de Puisac, is of small interest. Twysden, finding it in the Cambridge MS. which he used, (it is nowhere else), printed it.

The Auctarium.

§ 15. In the Auctarium there are six pieces, four of which (Nos. 2--5) were printed by Twysden, and have subsequently appeared in the Surtees volume of Symeon's works. The sixth, in a fuller form, was included in the same volume.

The tract "De Injusta Vexatione."

III. The first of these pieces (p. 170), was appended by Bedford to his edition of Symeon published in 1732. It is a narrative of the harsh treatment of Bishop William of St. Carilef by the king on account of his supposed complicity in the plot of Odo of Bayeux, and

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[1] This book is now very scarce; its full title is "Symeonis Monachi "Dunhelmensis Libellus de exordio "atque procursu Dunhelmensis "Ecclesiæ: cui præmittitur Rev. "viri Thomæ Rud erudita dis- "quisitio, in qua probatur non "Turgotum sed Symeonem fuisse "verum hujus Libelli auctorem. "E Codice MS. perantiquo in Biblio- "theca publica Episcoporum Dun- "helmensium descripsit edidítque "Thomas Bedford. . . . Lond., "1732."

is found in several MSS.[1] The author was a Durham monk, but the style is different from that of Symeon. It must have been written after the death of St. Anselm in 1109, for the archbishop is spoken of as "sanctæ "memoriæ" (p. 195), but there is no other indication of date. The account of the conduct of Lanfranc during the pleadings at Westminster is remarkable, and deserves a careful study. His devotion to the Holy See and to ecclesiastical interests is well known; nevertheless we find him siding with the barons against the bishop of Durham, when the latter attempted, by appealing to Rome, to remove the judgment on his alleged treason from the king to the pope. Lanfranc evidently thought that the two powers should be kept rigorously distinct; and that if a bishop were a tenant *in capite*, and charged with misconduct towards his suzerain, he should be tried in his feudal, not his episcopal character, and therefore before a lay, not an ecclesiastical tribunal. A different line of conduct, he seems to urge, will tend to weaken the central power and so bring in anarchy.

§ 16. IV. The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* exists in only two MSS., C. and Bodl. 596. Properly speaking, it is rather an ancient estate-roll of the monks of St. Cuthbert, with biographical and historical particulars interspersed, than a history. It is therefore rightly described by Symeon (p. 72), who makes free use of it, as "the charter roll of the church, which shows "the ancient munificence of kings and various persons in religion towards the saint." There is, regarding it in this light, no difficulty in understanding why one of the two existing MSS. contains considerably more than the other; it is simply because it carries down the story of the property to a later date, viz.: to the reign of Canute. The fragment of the *Historia de S. C.* which is contained in Bod. 596, follows a fragment

The "Historia de Sancto Cuthberto.

[1] D. Fx., Laud 700, and Harl. 4853.

of Beda's metrical life of St. Cuthbert, which is preceded by a copy of the prose life by the same, incomplete at the end. All these are written in hands of the eleventh century. The copy in the Cambridge MS., although itself of later date, seems to represent an older form of the record. The later portion, found only in the Bodleian MS., was first printed by Mr. Hinde in the Surtees volume.

"De Obsidione Dunelmi."

V. The next tract, on the fortunes of Earl Uchtred and his descendants, commonly called *De Obsidione Dunelmi*, exists only in the MS. (Corpus Coll. Cambr. No. 139), which contains the unique copy of the *Historia Regum*, and is written in the same hand as that work, one of the late twelfth century.

Anglo-Saxon poem on Durham.

VI. The short Anglo-Saxon poem which follows, on the situation of Durham and the relics of the saints preserved there (p. 221), is at present found in no other ancient text besides C., from which Twysden printed it. There was formerly another copy, as pointed out by Mr. Hinde in the Surtees volume, in a Cottonian MS., whence Hickes printed the poem for his *Thesaurus*; but this MS. was destroyed in the fire of 1731. The Cambridge text is not a little corrupt. I have endeavoured to improve it by a few corrections, some of which are sufficiently obvious; that of *eardiað* for *Eardreþ* in the last sentence, though conjectural, at least suggests a meaning where none was assignable before.

Epistle on the archbishops of York.

§ 17. VII. The epistle *De Archiepiscopis Eboraci* (p. 222), was first printed by Twysden from the Corpus MS. mentioned in the last paragraph but one, and again by Mr. Hinde from a Cottonian MS. (Titus A. xix). That the author was the same Symeon who wrote the history of the church of Durham cannot, I think, be doubted. He describes himself as a Durham monk, "ser-"vorum S. Cuthberti servulus;" but in the list already referred to of the monks in that monastery (p. 4), which

was originally made about A.D. 1100, but continued to a date some sixty years later—among 229 monks, there is but one Symeon. Now the epistle on the archbishops of York must have been written between 1090 and 1132, the earliest and latest dates of the two deans of York, so named, to one or other of whom it was addressed. It must have therefore been written by the only monk in the monastery bearing the name of Symeon at that time, namely by the monk standing thirty-eighth on the list. But to which of the two deans of York was it addressed? To the Hugh who presided between 1090 and 1109, or to his namesake between 1130 and 1132? The point cannot, I think, be settled with certainty, because (see note at p. 226) we cannot be sure that the fifteenth century copyist who wrote Titus A. xix. had the original text, or an unaltered copy of it, before him. He may have transcribed a copy made in the time of archbishop Thurstan (1114–1140), in which, according to a practice common with mediæval scribes, the list of prelates, though originally stopping at an earlier point, was brought down to the writer's own time. If "Turstinus" stood in the original text, the epistle must have been addressed to the second dean Hugh (1130–2), and would be of later date, so far as we know, than any other of Symeon's writings. For the *Historia Regum*, even if it be granted that the whole compilation (except the Hexham insertions) came from Symeon's hand, stops at 1129. But I am myself decidedly of opinion, from considerations of style, that the letter was written to the first Hugh. It seems to me much more like the work of a literary tiro than of an aged and practised hand.

Chapters on miracles and translations.

§ 18. VIII. The "Chapters on Miracles and Translations" which follow, (p. 229), give a sample of the hagiographical accretions which grew up round the memory of every great English saint; compare, for instance, the supplements to the life of St. John of Beverley, in the

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recently published volume of the Rolls Senès on the Archbishops of York, or the immense collections of the same kind, by Osbert of Clare, Hermann, and others, in relation to St. Edmund king and martyr, which lie still unpublished in our great libraries In one of their most contracted forms (as in Harl. 1924), they are seven in number; these are printed in the present volume. In their most expanded form (as in Fx. and Laud 491), they fill twenty four chapters. But, of these, the first two are merely chapters 31 and 32 of the fourth book of Beda's Ecclesiastical History, in which two miracles ascribed to St. Cuthbert are related; and the twenty fourth is ch. 3 in Lib. III. of the *Historia Dunelmensis*. The remaining twenty one chapters form a series extending from the time of Alfred to the first decade of the twelfth century, and naturally fall (as I shall presently show), into two parts, consisting of the first seven and the last fourteen chapters respectively. Of the first part Symeon has made the amplest use, as the following analysis will show. From chapter I., that about the apparition of St. Cuthbert to Alfred in the marshes of Athelney, he has borrowed a passage in ch. 10 lib. II. of the H.D; see below, p. 62, note b. He makes similar use of the second chapter (p. 63) which describes the wanderings of the body in the time of bishop Eardulf; and of the third (p. 73) which tells of the punishment of Onalafbald the Dane, during the usurpation of Reginald. To the fourth chapter he distinctly refers (p. 71), as containing a full account of the deliverance from the Scottish army in the time of Guthred. The fifth chapter, about the escape of Aldanhamal and the punishment of Barcwith in the time of earl Tostig, he merely notices (p. 95) with the words "quod alibi plenius legitur." Of chapter VI., about the flight to Lindisfarne in 1069, he gives a much abridged version (p. 100), sometimes using the same words. Chapter VII. is not noticed elsewhere;

Collection of seven.

Collection of twenty-one.

This last falls into two parts.

Analysis of the first part.

but as its first sentence contains a reference to chapter V. in terms which imply identity of authorship, it must go with the chapters which precede it.

The collection of fourteen chapters (VIII. to XXI.) appears to form a continuation by another hand of the work on the Miracles and Translations of St. Cuthbert which we have just analysed. The writer declares his intention of committing to writing a few of the miracles of the saint which happened in the reign of William the Younger ("regnante Guillelmo Juniore"), and were "not "inferior to those which we have read as they are already "extant in writing,"—*non utique minora his quæ jam scripta legimus.*[1] Again, in chap. XV., which describes how the suddenly rising tide prevented a thief from quitting Lindisfarne with his plunder, this writer says, "*We have read* how once the sea afforded a dry approach "to fugitives fleeing to the isle of Lindisfarne; now "&c."[2] This seems to be a clear allusion to chap. VI. in the work of the first writer, unless we suppose that the reference is to the brief notice of the same occurrence in the *Hist. Dun* (p. 100); which does not appear likely. The author of this second part, who undertakes to describe what happened "regnante Guillelmo Juniore," evidently wrote in the following reign, *i.e.*, after 1100; and the mention in the same chapter of prior Turgot as still living ("qui nunc usque superest,") proves that he wrote before 1115, in which year Turgot died. The second part.

§ 19. A certain chronological order prevails, so far as we can judge, through both parts of the work on the Miracles and Translations. The first, beginning with Alfred (about 870), touches on events which happened in the ninth and tenth centuries, and then describes incidents referred to successive dates in the eleventh century, the latest of which is 1080. The second part begins with a story not otherwise dated than as happening both parts pervaded by a chronological sequence.

[1] Surtees ed. of Symeon, p. 174, *ib.*, p. 183.

when Turgot was prior; that is, between 1087 and 1109. The second story (Chap. IX.) is fixed by an internal allusion [1] to 1091; the third and fourth narratives (X., XI.) also belong to the priorate of Turgot; the fifth (XII.) falls under 1095: the sixth, seventh, and eighth narratives (XIII., XIV., XV.) belong to a time not much later, and the ninth (XVI.) must refer to 1103 or 1104.[2] The tenth narrative (XVII.) relates something that took place while Turgot was prior, but is not otherwise dated. The eleventh (XVIII.) is the account of the great Translation of 1104; and the three narratives which follow (XIX., XX., XXI.) describe incidents which happened at the same time, or soon afterwards. Hence, it appears that the chapter on the Translation of 1104 occupies its proper place in a work which seems to have been written partly before and partly after that event,[3] and carried down nearly to the date of writing in either case.

date of the chapter on the great translation.

But it will be said that the chapter on the great Translation (p. 247) is shown by internal evidence to have been written after 1122.[4] This, however, is by no means certain, for the propensity of scribes to *accommo-*

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[1] Surtees ed. of Symeon, p. 177; "antisti tem de exilio reversum."

[2] It is about the fall of a great piece of timber which was being carried to the church "quæ nunc "fabricatur," that is, to the cathedral, which was sufficiently finished in 1104 to allow of the translation of the relics.

[3] The writer says (chap. xvi.), "Necdum annus agitur, ex quo ad "ecclesiam, quæ nunc . . . . . fa"bricatur, ... lignum advehe"batur." This seems, as stated in the preceding note, to be most fitly applicable to 1103 or 1104; for although it may be admitted that building operations on the cathedral were not entirely suspended in the later years of Turgot's priorate, it seems more natural to understand these words of the time which preceded the autumn of 1104, when—the church being "non parva ex parte perfecta," (*infra*, p. 248)—the fitting season for the translation was deemed to have arrived.

[4] See Mr. Hinde's remarks at p. xxxix., Surtees ed. The passages in question are on pp. 257, 258; Ralph, who was abbot of Séez in 1104, being styled "venerabilis "memoriæ," and William being mentioned as his successor at Canterbury. Ralph only died in 1122

date the dates of what they are copying to their own time is well known; hence we cannot be certain that in the original text of this chapter, "Radulfus" did not appear as simply "abbas Sagiensis," and Alexander as "frater regis Scottorum," and Guillelmus as "Dunel-" mensis episcopi clericus." A notable instance of this accommodation of dates occurs in the case of the various editions of Henry of Huntingdon's *De Contemptu Mundi*; see the Rolls edition of that chronicle, p. 314, *n.* It is true that no such alteration can be proved in the present instance, for all the existing MSS., so far as I am aware, contain the additions which carry down the composition beyond 1122. Still it is only a choice of improbabilities. No one can doubt that Chap. VIII. (see *ante*, § 18), which speaks of Turgot as still living, was composed before 1115. But, in most of the MSS., Chapters VIII. and XVIII. (that on the Translation) form parts of a continuous and coherent work. Which then is the more improbable? that scribes altered some of the original dates of a work first written about 1104, or that two compositions, originally written with an interval of many years between them, have been skilfully united into one work having all the appearance of homogeneity and simultaneous, or nearly simultaneous, production? So far as I can judge, the second alternative is by far the more improbable of the two.

§ 20. The further question has now to be considered; by whom were these two works on the Miracles, &c. of St. Cuthbert composed? With regard to the first work, used so freely by Symeon in the *Hist. Dunelm.*, I was for a long time disposed to regard him as the author of it, and to believe that he was using materials which he had himself collected. But a more attentive consideration of all the passages (pages 62, 63, 70, 73, 95, 98, 100) where he refers to or uses this work, has induced me to abandon this view. On the whole, Symeon seems to me to be using a work written by another man. Authorship of the chapters.

With regard to the second work, or continuation, no certain conclusion can be formed respecting its authorship, beyond the fact, several times incidentally apparent, that the writer was a monk of Durham. Besides Turgot and Symeon, the monastery contained at the time other writers, *e.g.*, the author of the tract "De injusta vexatione." Turgot, who is so frequently mentioned in it, certainly did not write it; nor does the style seem quite equal to that of Symeon, though it bears a general resemblance to it. That is all that can be said.[1]

Appendix. The poem by Æðelwulf.

§ 21. IX. The first piece in the Appendix is the poem of Æðelwulf on the abbots and other inmates of the monastery, to which he belonged. The poem appears to be dedicated to Egbert, bishop of Lindisfarne from 802 to 820. The author, who had perhaps read and desired

[1] Adopting Mr. Hinde's view (p. xlv.), that "the intermediate "chapters between the sixth and "the eighteenth could scarcely "have been written by, or even "known to Symeon," and being disposed to believe that the Harl. MS. 1924 exhibited the work on the Miracles, &c., in its original shape, I decided to omit those chapters from the present volume. A closer examination of their contents having shown me how coherent the whole work is, and that Symeon may not only have known, but even written, these "intermediate chapters," I intend to print them in the Appendix to the second volume. Mr. Hinde thought that if Symeon had known them he would have made use of them in the *Hist. Dun.* But he *has* made use of one of them—chap. xii.—as any one can see who will compare the last words of that chapter with the end of chap. 4 book iv. of the *Hist. Dun.* It might certainly have been expected that the lengthy narrative given in chap. ix. of the blockade of Durham by the Scots in 1091 would have had something corresponding to it in the *Hist. Dun.* But in the concluding chapter of that history there is evidently great compression; Symeon confines himself to recording what of special interest happened to the bishop or to the church and monastery, and there he stops. The remaining chapters are either destitute of historical elements, and so not obviously suitable for use or reference in a historical work, or they refer,—and this is the case with chapters xvi., xvii., and xix.–xxi.,—to events later than 1100, and so out-running the limits of Symeon's work, which ends in 1096.

to imitate Alcuin's *Carmen de Pontificibus*, had previously composed another poem, now lost, on holy men of the Angle nation; see Chap. XVI. The present work was printed by Mabillon in the *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.*, vol. VI., 304. Mabillon used a transcript of the Cambridge MS. with which Gale finished him; and what with the original barbarism of the style, the numerous errors in the MS., and the additional errors due either to the transcriber or the printer, the text which he gives is to a large extent unintelligible. Having had the use of a better MS., Bodl. 163, I have been able to correct many of the errors in Mabillon's text; but several passages in the poem remain more or less obscure.[1]

Names of abbots mentioned by him.

The abbots mentioned by Æðelwulf are, Eanmund, Eorpwine, Aldwine, Sigbald, Sigwine, & Wulfsig. None of these names correspond to those in the known series of the abbot-bishops of Lindisfarne; hence Mabillon saw that some other monastery must be intended, and that the rubrics in the Cambridge MS., importing that Lindisfarne was meant, were erroneous. He was unable to suggest what place was meant, and, in the interesting article on "Ethelwulf" by Professor Stubbs in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (Smith and Wace), no theory on the subject is propounded.

His monastery was probably at Craike near York.

§ 22. I have formed the opinion that the cell to which Æðelwulf belonged was at Craike, or Crayke, near York. The evidence indeed is extremely scanty, but if it can be shown that a number of minute notices in the poem favour the supposition that Craike is the place intended, that there is nothing inconsistent with the supposition, and that no other cell of Lindisfarne will suit these notices nearly so well, the point may be considered as reasonably well established.

[1] One of these—at p. 274, l. 23—may be cleared up by reading "Ponere" for "Pondere."

It was certainly a cell of Lindisfarne.

That the monastery of St. Peter to which the poem refers was a cell, and a cell of Lindisfarne, cannot be doubted. The following notices, gathered from the poem itself, make this abundantly clear. Eanmund, a Northumbrian noble, was forced to take refuge from the tyranny of Osred the son of Alfrid (705—716) in a monastery (cap. iv.). The monastery was dedicated in honour of St. Peter (*ib.*); and it, or the ground on which it stood, or the lands with which it was endowed, must in some sense have belonged to Eanmund before he gave up the world. For the rubric to cap. iv. states that he was tonsured and entered the Lord's service "in pro-"prio monasterio;" and under the barbarous Latinity of the phrase "Christo indeptus quod dederat almo" (iv. 10.) some endowment by Eanmund seems to be indicated. Immediately afterwards (iv. 14) the monastery is called a "cella," and this designation occurs also on pages 271, 274, 277, 280, &c. The monks whom Eanmund gathered around him in this monastery were numerous, "quamplures" (iv. 15.) Eanmund goes to Eadfrid, bishop of Lindisfarne, for instruction, and receives from that monastery a teacher capable of instructing the monks in "monastica jura," and the customs and acts of their predecessors (cap v.) If the monastery had been Benedictine, or followed the rule adopted at Wearmouth and Jarrow, Eanmund would have sought instruction, not at Lindisfarne, but at Ripon or Hexham, or some other of the monasteries founded by the great bishop Wilfrid, or else at Wearmouth. It may therefore be taken as a settled point that the monastery of Eanmund was a cell of Lindisfarne.

Enumeration of the cells under Lindisfarne.

§ 23. If so, what cell? The cells under Lindisfarne in early times seem to have been Melrose,[1] St. Balthere's

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[1] *Hist. de S. Cuthberto*, § 3. Melrose was an older foundation than Lindisfarne; nevertheless the latter seems to have acquired some kind of superiority over the former; and two abbots of Melrose, Eata

at Tynningham,[1] Craike,[2] Cunceceastre or Chester le Street,[3] Norham,[4] and Gainford.[5] The see also possessed lands in York,[6] but no mention occurs of a monastery there. Of these cells, Chester le Street and Norham may fairly be excluded, for there is no reason to suppose that there was any monastic establishment at either before the end of the ninth century. With regard to the remaining four, a review of the passages in the poem which contain any topographical indications must guide our judgment, there being no external evidence, in deciding which of them was the site of Eanmund's monastery.

Passages in poem having a topographical bearing.

After bishop Eadfrid had sent a teacher to the cell, it seems that, although the place was well supplied with monks, a suitable church was wanting. Eanmund sends a messenger to bishop Egbert in Ireland (vi. 3.), asking him to suggest a site for the proposed church and to consecrate an altar for it. Egbert complies; sends an altar to be dedicated under the invocation of St. Peter, and suggests, as a fitting site for the new church, a place which he confesses indeed he had never seen, but which he probably knew from report, viz: "a hill, not large, "sloping with a steep declivity, facing the morning sun "in October,[7] crowned by a dense thicket of briars," (vi. 20) long infested by robbers (*ib.* 50), which Eanmund was to clear and level and build St. Peter's church upon. Eanmund complies with all this. Sigbald the fourth abbot, builds a splendid Lady chapel (xiv. 4.) An obscure line (xv. 33) speaks of the "clerus in urbe" in the time of Abbot Sigwine, who used to fill the building

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and Ethelwold, were promoted thence to the episcopal throne of Lindisfarne.

[1] *ib.* § 4.

[2] *ib.* § 6.

[3] *ib.* § 20.

[4] *ib.* § 21.

[5] *Hist. Regum* a. 801.

[6] *Hist. de S. Cuthb.* § 5.

[7] So I understand "Quo sol con-"surgens trutinantis tempora Li-"bræ Pervolat;" and the meaning seems to be that the principal aspect of the hill was a little south of east.

with the sound of their chanting. A time of prosperity set in for the monastery under or soon after, the sixth abbot Wulfsig; then—

florent ad gaudia Christi
Per cellam monachi, lætatur clerus in urbe (xx. 12).

It seems clear that in this passage the flourishing state of the monks in the cell, and the joy of the "clergy in the city" are closely connected.

These may all be applied to Craike.

§ 24. All the indications above given seem to suit Craike, and it would be difficult to apply them to any of the other cells. Craike is a small conspicuous isolated hill, an outlier from the Wolds on the north of it, commanding wide views towards the east, south, and west. "Right in the south, the splendid pile of York Minster "in the centre of the vast plain appears at the distance "of twelve miles like the form of a ship at sea."[1] It is, in fact, á "collis non magnus declivo tramite flexus;" its principal aspect is to the south east; and if we suppose the monastery to have stood somewhere on the slope of the hill, the top, till it was cleared and made the site of a church, might well have been a thorny thicket and the resort of robbers. At the present day the top of the hill is occupied by a castle built in the fifteenth century, but it stands upon the debris of many ruins, and excavations skilfully conducted would probably bring to light, if my theory be correct, many interesting memorials of a vanished past. Again, the "joy of the "clergy in the city," in connexion with the flourishing state of the monastery, has a peculiar significance on the supposition that York is the city and Craike the monastery, because we know that a good part of York belonged to St. Cuthbert, and we may be certain that on this part the bishops of Lindisfarne built churches, so

[1] From the article "Crayke" in Gill's *Vallis Eboracensis*, contributed by the late Archdeacon Churton.

[2] See p. 199.

that the "clerus in urbe" would primarily refer to the clergy of these Cuthbertine churches. There is still a church in York, Mr. Hinde reminds us, dedicated to St. Cuthbert; and the saint also "possessed the rectories of "All Saints', Pavement, and St. Peter the Little in the "same city."[1] The cell being supposed to be Craike, it would be unlikely that there should be no mention of an "urbs" in connexion with it; for the hill and three miles round it are said to have been given by king Egfrid to St. Cuthbert, for the express reason that he might have a "mansio" to stop at, "as often as he went "to the city of York or returned from it."[2] But there is no other cell of Lindisfarne of which a similar connexion with a city could be affirmed; nor is there any, so far as I am aware, the topography of which would harmonise so well with the description given above.

It seems singular that Egbert should suggest a spot which he had never seen for the building of the church; but I am assured by Professor Stubbs, that the position of Craike, "a village on a commanding eminence which "towers above the country formerly occupied by the "forest of Galtres,"[3] is exceptionally striking; there is therefore nothing forced in the hypothesis, that it may have been well known to Egbert by report, so that what he had heard of it caused him to recommend it to the choice of Eanmund.

But it will be objected that the monastery which Eanmund entered, and which was in some sense "his own," could not have been the monastery founded at Craike, only some thirty years before, by St. Cuthbert. I admit that this is a difficulty; but property changed

[1] Surtees ed. of Symeon, p. 140 *n.* There is no doubt that the bishops of Lindisfarne were prompt in building churches on lands given to St. Cuthbert, or bought with his money; see *e.g.* what is said of Gainford, Norham, Woodchester, &c., in §§ 9, 11, of the *Hist. de S. Cuthberto.*

[2] *Hist. de S. Cuth.* § 5.

[3] Surtees ed. of Symeon, p. 141 *n.*

hands so often in those lawless times that it does not seem to me one of great magnitude.

Notices of persons in the poem.

§ 25. I have traced tantalizing notices of Ultan, or Hyglac, or Sigwine, through the pages of Bale, Pits, Harpsfield, Colgan, and the Bollandists; but have unwillingly come to the conclusion that none of these authorities had any other source of information about them except this poem. Yet, since Ultan is spoken of as a distinguished Irishman (viii. 3), search among Irish records may one day bring something to light respecting him.

Abbot Sigbald.

It was conjectured by Professor Stubbs in the article referred to above,[6] and the conjecture seems to me a very probable one, that the abbot Sigbald of the poem is the same as the "Sibald abbas," whose death in 771 is mentioned in the *Historia Regum*. This is in a part of the history teeming with notices of events happening at or near York, and apparently coming from a York writer. Sigbald had been abbot a long time; had built grandly, and enriched the cell munificently; such a writer then would be likely to note his death, if he was abbot of Craike.

Etha the anchorite.

That the Æthuinus mentioned in cap. x. may have been the anchorite Etha who died at Craike in 767 (*Hist. Reg.*), seems to me not impossible; but it would not be safe to say more.

Later history of Craike.

§ 26. The monastery at Craike, although forcibly occupied for a time by Ella, one of the kings of Northumbria about 860, was still in being, if we may believe the story told by Symeon and the author of the *Historia de S. Cuthberto* (pp. 68, 208), in 883 under an abbot named Geve; and was the resting place of the body of St. Cuthbert during four months. The story has a slightly mythical air about it, and the abbot's name was

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[1] p. xxxiii.

perhaps invented on account of the generosity ascribed to him.[1] That the Danes who got the upper hand at York in 867 would have left unmolested for sixteen years a monastery not twelve miles off, does not seem in accordance with what we know of their proceedings elsewhere. However this may be, we hear no more of Craike or its monastery (if we except an obscure notice[2] of the 10th century in the *Liber Vitæ* of the church of Durham, in which earl Thured figures as giving land at Craike to St. Cuthbert), till the date of Domesday, 1086; and then, though St. Cuthbert had recovered the property and had a church and priest there, there was no monastery on the hill.

§ 27. X. The second piece in the Appendix is the Life of Bartholomew the Hermit of Farne, written by Gaufridus, probably Geoffrey of Coldingham. This was originally edited, and in a masterly way, by Godfrey Henschen the Bollandist, for the fourth volume of June, in the Acta Sanctorum, published in 1701. But the last sheets of the transcript (from "inspicerent," at the foot of p. 318 to the end) were lost while the work was passing through the press; and Henschen, finding that the Citeaux MS. which he had used had been in the meantime mislaid, and not knowing where to look for another, contented himself with filling in the gap with an extract from Capgrave's Life of Bartholomew, as given in the *Legenda Angliæ.* The missing portion, which is extant in the Fairfax and other MSS., is now printed for the first time. Life of Bartholomew the hermit.

Henschen found this Life, and also that of St. Godric, when he visited Citeaux in 1662, on his return from Rome through France to Belgium. Wars delayed the publication of the volume in which it was to appear, and when at length he resumed his editorial task he published incomplete by the Bollandists.

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[1] As if "Gifa," a giver.

[2] Cited by Archdeacon Churton, *ubi supra.*

found, as we have said, that the last part of the "copy" was missing, and that the abbot of Citeaux could not help him to replace it. With sound critical insight he conjectured that the writer of the Life, who was only indicated by the initial "G." in the Citeaux MS., was the same Gaufridus who wrote a Life[1] of St. Godric of Finchale. In the Fairfax MS. the name appears at full length, "Gaufridus." This name occurs near the end of the list of professed monks of Durham, which, as Mr. Rud has shown,[2] breaks off about A.D. 1170. This was probably the Gaufridus who wrote the Life of Bartholomew, soon after the hermit's death in 1193. The Life of St. Godric, who died in 1170, may have been the work of his youth, and the chronicle of the church of Durham from 1152 to 1214,[3] (carrying on the continuation of Symeon's history given at p. 135) of his old age.

date of the hermit's death.

Henschén, from the mention of the day of the week and month on which Bartholomew died (p. 320), showing that Easter that year fell on the 28th March, concluded that the hermit's death was either in 1182 or 1193. the next year in which Easter fell on that day having been 1255. He could go no further, not having the means of making the necessary deductions from other notices contained in the Life. Availing himself of these, the author of the English Life of Bartholomew in the series of "Lives of the English Saints," (believed to have been Mr. Dalgairns) rightly saw that the year of his death must have been 1193. For it is stated (p. 300) that Bartholomew went to Farne after having obtained permission from prior Laurence, that is, between 1149, in which year Laurence was appointed, and the end of 1153, in which year he left England on a

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[1] Published in the Acta SS. (May 21).

[2] Ed. Bedford, p. xxvi.

[3] Edited by Canon Raine for the Surtees Society, 1839.

mission connected with the bishopric, and never returned. Coupling these data with the statement that Bartholomew remained forty-two years on the island, we see that he could not have died in 1182, for that would throw back his first arrival at Farne to a time long before Laurence's priorate. He must therefore have died in 1193, on June 24, and first come to Farne on the 5th Dec., 1150[1] (p. 322).

Other facts recorded of him.

§ 28. Several curious facts in connexion with Bartholomew's long residence on Farne are mentioned by Reginald in his "Libellus" on St. Cuthbert, of which Geoffrey takes no notice. We hear (ch. 29) of him and his fellow-hermit Elwin as being much plagued by the visits of Æistan the viking, and his rough Norwegians; of a wonderful story (ch. 30), told to and repeated by him, of some sailors who were nearly shipwrecked, and of the cure of a woman from Embleton (ch. 62). Reginald also tells the story (ch. 111) of the hawk and the pet bird (see p. 311), with some variations, which are not however very material. Reginald wrote while Bartholomew was still living on the island.

§ 29. XI. There can scarcely be a doubt that this same Reginald is the author of the Life of St. Oswald, passages from which form the closing portion of this volume. The cumbrous and inflated style of the opening chapter of the "Libellus" is continued here through the greater portion of the work, apparently because the author had really little to communicate beyond what could be found in Beda, and thought it best to make up the deficiency by a display of rhetoric. The date, 1162, is supplied in the work itself, see p. 382; it was therefore written before the "Libellus," which mentions the date 1172, and seems to have been written some years after the death of St. Godric in 1170.

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[1] Mr. Dalgairns inadvertently says, 1151.

§ 30. The following lists of bishops and priors of Lindisfarne and Durham are taken from the Fairfax MS.

It has been thought advisable to reserve the "Index of Geographical Forms," referred to on p. 197, to the end of the second volume.

BISHOPS OF LINDISFARNE, CHESTER-LE-STREET, AND DURHAM.

EPISCOPI LINDISFERNENSIS PRIMO, CESTRENSIS-IN-STRATU SECUNDO, DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIÆ TERTIO ET ULTIMUM.[1]

Aidanus primus episcopus Lindisfernensis, anno Domini [634], et sedit annis [17].

Finanus Scotus episcopus, anno Domini [652], et sedit annis [10].

Colmanus Scotus episcopus, anno Domini [662], et sedit annis [3].

Tuda episcopus, anno Domini [665], et sedit annis [1].

Eata episcopus, anno Domini [666], et sedit annis [4].

Cuthbertus episcopus, anno Domini [685], et sedit annis [2].

Defuncto Cuthberto Wilfridus eandem sedem episcopalem uno regebat anno donec eligeretur Eadbertus.[2]

Eadbertus episcopus, anno Domini [687], et sedit annis [10].

Eadfridus episcopus, anno Domini [697], et sedit annis [24].

Ethelwoldus episcopus, anno Domini [721], et sedit annis [16].

Kynnewulfus episcopus, anno Domini [737], et sedit annis [45].

Higbaldus episcopus, anno Domini [793],[3] et sedit annis 22.

Ecgbertus episcopus, anno Domini [804], et sedit annis 18.

Heathuredus episcopus, anno Domini [822], et sedit annis [9].

Ecgredus episcopus, anno Domini [831], et sedit annis [16].

Eanbertus episcopus, anno Domini [847], et sedit annis [8].

Eardulfus primus episcopus . . . . ,[4] anno Domini [854], et sedit annis [46].

Cutheardus episcopus, anno Domini [901], et sedit annis [15].

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[1] The first portion of the list of bishops, from Aidan to Walchere, is in a hand of about 1390 or 1400; but the date numerals are in a much later hand, one of the seventeenth century; they are therefore printed in brackets.

[2] Comp. pp. 35, 36.

[3] A mistake for 783.

[4] The word here is *Councrestensis*, written apparently by mistake for *Cuncecestrensis*. Eardulf transferred the see to Cunceceaster.

Tilredus episcopus, anno Domini [925],[1] et sedit annis [14].

Wigredus episcopus, anno Domini [939], et sedit annis [17].

Uthredus episcopus, anno Domini [956], et sedit annis [3].

Sexhelmus episcopus, anno Domini [959], et sedit annis [6 mensibus].

Aldredus episcopus, anno Domini [960] et sedit annis [12].

Elfsigus episcopus, hic erat ultimus, et primus apud Dunelm, anno Domini [972], et sedit annis [22].

Alduinus episcopus, anno Domini [994][2] et sedit annis [29].

Eadmundus episcopus, anno Domini [1023], et sedit annis [13].

Eadredus episcopus, anno Domini [1036], et sedit annis [10 mensibus].

Egelricus episcopus, anno Domini [1037], et sedit annis [15].

Egelwinus episcopus, anno Domini [1052], et sedit annis [15].

Walcherus; omnes episcopi a Sancto Aidano usque ad istum Walcherum erant monachi uno excepto; anno Domini [1073], et sedit annis [9].

NOMINA ET DATA EPISCOPORUM DUNELMENSIUM.[3]

Date of Election.		
[1080.]	Willelmus de Sancto Karilepho, 15.	In episcopum Dunelm. ab archiepiscopo Ebor. Thoma fuit consecratus anno Domini millesimo lxxx° [3 die Januarii], obiit anno, &c. millesimo nonagesimo quinto [2 die Januarii].
[1099.]	Ranulphus, 29.	Consecratus fuit a Thoma Ebor. archiepiscopo [d. 5to Juni[i]] anno &c. nonagesimo ix°, obiit anno &c. M°cxxviii° [4to Sept.].
[1133.]	Gaufridus, 8.	Consecratus fuit a Thurstino Ebor. archiep°, anno Domini millesimo centesimo xxxiii°, obiit anno Domini millesimo centesimo xl° [vi^to^ die Maii].

[1] A.D. 915, Symeon (p. 74).

[2] 990, Symeon (p. 78).

[3] This part of the list of bishops, from William of St. Carilef to Thomas Longley, was written about 1440, while prior Wessyngton was still living. The days of the month (printed in brackets) have been added or interlined in a hand of about 1570.

Date of Election.		
[1143.]	Willelmus de Sancta Barbara, 9.	Fuit consecratus [20 die Junii] ab Henrico Wintoniensi episcopo tunc domini papæ in Anglia legato, anno Domini M^{o}c^{o}xliii^{o}. Obiit anno Domini M^{o}c^{o}lii [die 14 Novembris].
[1154.]	Hugo de Puteaco, 41.	Consecratus fuit Romæ [21 Decembris] ab Anastasio papa anno &c. M^{o}c^{o}liiii. Obiit anno Domini millesimo centesimo nonagesimo iiii^{o}, die 3 Martii.
[1197.]	Philippus Pictavensis, 11.	Consecratus fuit Romæ [20 die Aprilis] a papa Celestino, anno &c. M^{o}c^{o} nonagesimo vii^{o}. Obiit anno Domini millesimo cc^{mo} vii^{o} [22 Aprilis].
[1215.]	Ricardus de Marisco, 8.	Consecratus fuit [22 Junii] a Waltero Gray, Ebor. archiepiscopo, anno Domini M^{o}cc^{mo}xv [c(ap). 133[1]]. Obiit anno Domini millesimo cc^{mo}xxiiii^{o} [primo die Maii.
[1226.]	Ricardus Pauper, 11.	Translatus est [14° Martii] de Sarisburia, anno Domini M^{o}cc^{mo}xxvi^{to}. Obiit anno Domini M^{o}cc^{mo}xxxvii^{o} [15 Aprilis].
[1242.[2]]	Nicholaus Farnham, 8.	Consecratus fuit ab Waltero Gray, Ebor. archiepiscopo, Mcc^{mo}xlii^{o}. Cessit anno Domini M^{o}cc^{mo}xlviii^{o} [8 die Februarii].
[1249.]	Walterus Kyrkham, 10 di.	Consecratus fuit a Waltero Gray, archiepiscopo Ebor., anno &c. M^{o}cc^{mo}xlix^{o} [5to Decembris]. Obiit anno Domini millesimo cc^{mo}lx^{o} [die 9 Augusti].
[1260.[3]]	Robertus Stychyll, 14.	Consecratus fuit a Godefrido archiepiscopo Ebor., anno Domini M^{o}cc^{mo}lx^{o} [13 die Februarii]. Obiit anno Domini millesimo cc^{mo}lxxiiii^{o} [4to die Augusti].
[1274]	Robertus de Insula, 9.	Consecratus fuit a Waltero Giffard archiepiscopo Ebor., anno Domini M^{o}cc^{mo}lxxiiii [die 9° Decembris]. Obiit anno Domini M^{o}cc^{mo}lxxxiii^{o} [7° die Junii].

[1] Of the extended history "*De Gestis*" &c.; see Introd., p. xvi.

[2] 1241, *Hist. Dun. Script. Tres*, p. 41.

[3] 1261, *ibid.* p. 45.

Date of Election.		
[1283.]	Antonius Bek, 27 di.	Consecratus fuit a Willelmo Wikwan, Ebor. archiep.,anno &c. M^{o}cc^{mo}lxxxiii^{o} [26 Decembris]. Obiit anno Domini millesimo ccc^{mo}x^{o} [die 3° Martii].
[1311.]	Ricardus Kellawe, 5 d.	Consecratus fuit ab archiepiscopo Ebor. anno Domini M^{o}ccc^{mo}xi^{o} [die 30 Maii]. Obiit anno Domini millesimo ccc^{mo}xvi^{o} [die 9 Octobris].
[1318.]	Lodowicus, 16.	Consecratus fuit London anno Domini millesimo ccc^{mo}xviii^{o} [25to die Martii]. Obiit anno Domini millesimo ccc^{mo}xxxiii^{o} [24 Septembris].
[1335.[1]]	Ricardus Byry. 11.	Consecratus fuit ab archiepiscopo Cantuar., Johanne Streforde, [die 19 Decembris], anno &c. M^{o}ccc^{mo}xxxv^{o}. Obiit anno Domini millesimo ccc^{mo}xlv^{to} [die 14 Aprilis].
[1345.]	Thomas Hatefelde, 36.	Consecratus fuit anno Domini M^{o}ccc^{mo}xlv^{to} [die 9 Maii]. Obiit anno Domini millesimo ccc^{mo}lxxxi^{o} [die 8 Maii].
[1381.[2]]	Johannes Fordham, 8.	Consecratus fuit per episcopum Exoniensem [die 5 Januarii] anno &c. M^{o}ccc^{mo}lxxxi. Translatus fuit [die 31 Aprilis] ad ecclesiam Eliensem anno &c. M^{o}ccc^{mo}lxxxviii^{o}
[1388.[3]]	Walterus Skirlawe, 31.	Translatus fuit anno Domini M^{o}ccc^{mo} lxxxviii^{o} [die 30 Aprilis]. Obiit anno Domini millesimo cccc^{mo}vi^{o} [die 25 Martii].
[1406.]	Thomas Longley.	Electus est decima septima die mensis Maii, consecratusque est in festo Sancti Laurentii die x^{o} ab archiepiscopo Aquit.,[4] anno Domini M^{o}cccc. sexto, mortuusque est in festo Sancti Edmundi regis et martyris, videlicet xx^{o} die mensis Novembris, anno Domini &c. xxxvii^{o}, & sedit annis 31.

[1] 1333, Reg. Palat. Dunelm. iv., 180.

[2] 1382, *Hist. Dun. Script. Tres*, p. 144.

[3] 1389, *ibid.*

[4] "ab archiepiscopo Cantuariensi," *ib.*, p. 146.

Date of Election.	Episcoporum* consecrationis vel provisionis. —	Dies Mensis.	Anni Christi.	Sessionis. Anni.	Obitus. Dies Mensis.	Obitus. Anni Christi.	Vacationis. Anni.	Vacationis. Menses.	Vacationis. Dies.
[1437]	Robertus Newyll	27 Januarii	1437	19	9 Maii.	1457			
[1457]	Laurentius Boyth	25 Septembris	1457	20	25 Septembris.	1477			
[1477]	Willelmus Dudle	14 Octobris. Per literas patentes Edward iiii[ti] regis anno sui regni xvi[o].	1477	6 vel 7	—	—			
[1483]	Johannes Sherwode	30 Januarii	1483	—	—	1494			
[1494]	Ricardus Fox	8 Decembris. Per literas patentes regis Henrici VII., anno suo et post translatus ad ecclesiam Wintoniensem.	1494 vel 1495	—	Novemb. ultima Septemb. ultima	—			
[1502]	Willelmus Senewse	15 Octobris	1502	2 vel 3	14 Maii prius translatus a sede Carleolensi ad ecclesiam Dunelmensem, et etiam per literas patentes Henrici VII. regis anno regni sui 18, die 15 Octobris.	1505			
[1507]	Christophorus Banebryge	15 Novembris	1507 vel 1508	1	Et post translatus ad sedem Eboracensem.	—			
[1509]	Thomas Ruthall	3 Julii. Per literas Henrici regis VIII. anno regni sui primo.	1509	14	—	1523			

* The remainder of the list of bishops, from Robert Neville to Cuthbert Tunstall, is from the same hand, of about 1570, which inserted the month dates in the preceding portion. The names of Pilkington the first Protestant bishop, and six of his successors, are added in later hands.

Date of Election.	Episcoporum consecrationis vel provisionis. —	Dies Mensium.	Anni Christi.	Sessionis. Anni.	Obitus. Dies Mensium.	Obitus. Anni Christi.	Vacationis. Anni.	Menses.	Dies.
[1523]	Thomas Cardinalis.	13 Aprilis 1523 Per Henrici regis VIII. literas patentes anno regni sui 15.							
[1530]	Cuthbertus Tunstall.	24 Aprilis 1530 Per suum procuratorem installatus. Et prius per Clementem papam VII^m^ a sede Londoniensi ad ecclesiam Dunelmensem translatus, anno Domini 1529, 19 kal. Martii.							
	Jacobus Pilkington.								
	Richardus Barnes.								
	Matthæus Hutton.								
	Tobias Matthew.								
	Willelmus James.								
	Richardus Neile.								
	Thomas Mourtonus.								

Priors of Durham.[1]

Date of Election.

[1083.] Aldwinus, 4. — Prior fuit Dunelm. tempore Willelmi de Sancto Karilepho, et peractis in prioratu quatuor annis, obiit anno Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo octogesimo vii° [26 Junii].

[1] The list of priors, from Aldwine to Wessyngton, is written in the same hand as that which compiled the list of bishops from William I. to Langley. The month-dates, as before, are due to the later, or, as I may call it, the Tunstall hand.

Date of Election.		
[1087.]	Turgotus, 22.	Prior electus est tempore Willelmi de Sancto Karilepho, et obiit tempore Ranulphi episcopi circa annum Dominicæ incarnationis millesimum nonagesimum.
[1109.]	Algarus, 28.	Electus est tempore Ranulphi episcopi, et obiit tempore Gaufridi episcopi circa annum Dominicæ incarnationis millesimum c^m^xxvii^m^.
[1137.]	Rogerus, 12.	Electus est tempore Gaufridi episcopi, et obiit tempore Willelmi secundi circa annum Dominicæ incarnationis millesimum c^m^xlvi^m^.
[1149.]	Laurentius, 5.	Electus est tempore Willelmi prædicti, et obiit anno primo Hugonis episcopi, anno Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo c^mo^liiii^o^ [17 Martii].
[1154.]	Absalon, 4.	Electus est tempore prædicti domini Hugonis episcopi, et obiit tempore ejusdem circa annum Dominicæ incarnationis millesimum c^m^lviii^m^.
[1158.]	Thomas primus, 4.	Electus est tempore prædicti domini Hugonis episcopi anno sui pontificatus ix^o^, et obiit tempore ejusdem circa annum Dominicæ incarnationis millesimum c^m^lxiii^m^.
[1163]	Germanus, 27.	Electus est tempore Hugonis episcopi anno Domini M^o^c^o^lxiii^o^, et obiit tempore prædicti Hugonis episcopi circa annum Domini millesimum c^m^lxxxviii.
[1189.]	Bertramus, 22.	Electus est tempore prædicti domini Hugonis [22 Septembris], et obiit tempore domini Philippi circa annum Dominicæ incarnationis millesimum c^m^ nonagesimum ix^m^ [die 17 Julii].
[1212.]	Willelmus primus, 2.	[Electus est anno Christi 1212, die . . . . . . , et obiit die . . . . anno Domini 1214.]

Date of Election.		
[1214.]	Radulphus, 19.	Electus est tempore Ricardi de Marisco [die . . . . . . anno Christi 1214], et obiit tempore Ricardi Pauperis anno Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo cc^{mo}xxxiii^{o} [die —].
[1233.]	Thomas secundus, 12.	Electus est tempore Ricardi dicti Pauperis, anno Domini m^{o}cc^{mo}xxxiii^{o}, et obiit tempore Nicholai, anno Domini millesimo cc^{mo}xliiii^{o} [die Julii —].
[1244.]	Bertramus secundus, 14.	Electus est [22 Septembris] tempore domini Nicholai, anno Domini M^{o}cc^{mo}xliiii^{o}, et peractis xiiii. annis cessit anno Domini millesimo cc^{mo} lviii^{to} [die 16 Julii anno 1258].
[1258.]	Hugo de Derlyngton, 14.	Electus est tempore Walteri Kyrkham, et cessit [die 16 Augusti anno Christi 1258] tempore Roberti Stychill, anno Domini M^{o}cc^{mo}lxii^{o} [die 8 Januarii anno Domi 1272].
[1272.]	Ricardus de Claxton, 13.	Electus est tempore Roberti Stychill [26 Januarii anno Christi 1272], et cessit tempore Antonii, anno Domini millesimo cc^{mo}lxxv^{o} [die 27 Decembris anno Christi 1285].
[1285.]	Hugo prædictus, 4.	Iterato est electus [die 11 Januarii anno Christi 1285] tempore Antonii, et tempore ejusdem cessit, anno Domini M^{o}cc^{mo}lxxxix^{o} [11 Martii].
[1289.]	Ricardus de Hoton, 18.	Electus est [24 Martii anno Christi 1289] tempore Antonii, et tempore ejusdem obiit, anno etc. M^{o}ccc^{mo}vii^{o} 9 Januarii.
[1307.]	William Canfeld, 6.	Tempore Antonii [24 Februarii] per pensionem est prior ordinatus [anno Christo 1301[1]], et tempore Ricardi de Kellaw obiit, anno Domini M^{o}ccc^{mo} xiii^{o} [23 die Augusti].

[1] 1307, *Hist. Dun. Script. Tres*, p. 85. "Per pensionem" refers to the sum of 3,000 marks said to have been paid by Tanfield (*loc. cit.*) to the Roman curia.

Date of Election.		
[1313.]	Gaufridus de Burdon, 9.	Electus est tempore Ricardi de Kellaw [die Junii . . . anno Christi 1313], et cessit tempore Lodowici, anno Domini M°ccc^{mo}xxii° [die 22 Januarii].
[1322.]	Willelmus Couton, 18.	Electus est tempore Lodowici [2° die Martii 1322], et obiit tempore Ricardi de Byry, anno Domini M°ccc^{mo}xli° [die 26 Februarii anno Christi 1340].
[1341.]	Johannes Fossour, 34.	Electus est tempore Ricardi de Byry [die 16 Martii 1340], et obiit tempore domini Thomæ Hatefelde, anno Domini M°ccc^{mo}lxxiiii° [die 11 Novembris].
[1374.]	Robertus de Walworth, 17.	Electus est tempore dicti Thomæ [die 11 Decembris anno Christi 1374], et cessit tempore Walteri, anno Domini millesimo ccc^{mo} nonagesimo primo [die 14 Novembris].
[1391.]	Johannes de Hemyngburgh, 25.	Electus est tempore prædicti domini Walteri [die 13 Septembris], anno &c. [M°ccc^{mo}] nonagesimo primo, et obiit in crastino Exaltationis Sancti Crucis, anno Domini &c. [M°] cccc^{mo}xvi°.
[1416.]	Johannes Wessyngton, 30.	Electus est in vigilia Sancti Leonardi, viz., quinto die mensis Novembris, tempore domini Thomæ Longley, installatusque est in vigilia Nativitatis Domini anno Domini M° cccc^{mo}xvi°. Et obiit [anno Domini 1446, die . . . . mensis . . .].

LIST OF PRIORS—*continued.*

Priors.		Date of Election.		Years of Priorate.	Died or resigned.	
[1446]	Magister Willelmus Ebchester[1]	30 Junii -	1446	10	—	1456
[1456]	Magister Johannes Burnby -	25 Octobris -	1456	8	17 Octobris	1464
[1464]	Ricardus Bell - -	26 Novembris -	1464	14	--	1478
[1478]	Magister Robertus Ebchester -	26 Novembris -	1478	6	24 Junii.	1484
[1484]	Ma[g]ister Johannes Awklande	16 Julii -	1484	10	6 Aprilis.	1494
[1494]	Ma[g]ister Thomas Castell -	6 Maii - -	1494	25	27 Novembris.	1519
[1519] [2]	Magister Hugo Whithed -	3 Januarii -	1519	—	—	—

[1] The names of the priors, from W. Ebchester to Whithed, are entered by the same hand as those of the bishops from Neville to Tunstall.

[2] 1524, *Hist. Dun. Script. Tres*, p. 154. On the suppression of the monastery, Whithead was appointed the first dean of Durham; he died in 1548.

CROYDON CENTRAL LIBRARIES

SYMEONIS MONACHI HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIÆ.

SYMEONIS MONACHI HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIÆ.

[PRÆFATIO SYMEONIS.]

EXORDIUM hujus, hoc est, Dunelmensis ecclesiæ describere majorum auctoritate jussus, ingenii tardioris et imperitiæ mihi conscius, non obedire prius cogitaveram: sed rursus obedientiæ hoc præcipientium plusquam meis viribus confidens, juxta sensus mei qualitatem studium adhibui. Ea scilicet quæ sparsim in scedulis invenire potui, ordinatim collecta digessi: ut eo facilius peritiores, si mea non placent, unde suæ peritiæ opus conveniens conficiant, in promptu inveniant. Itaque congruum videtur, ut omnium ipsius ecclesiæ episcoporum, ab illo qui ejus fundator primus extiterat usque illum . . . . . .[1] qui in præsenti est, hic ordine nomina ponantur, quibus et eos qui illis successuri fuerint episcopos diligens futurorum cura scriptorum apponere non negligat.

In obedience to his superiors the author has undertaken to describe the origin of the church of Durham.

Aidanus.	Ecgbertus.	Aldredus.
Finanus.	Heathuredus.	Elfsig.
Colmanus.	Ecgredus.	Aldhunus.
Tuda.	Eanbertus.	Eadmundus.
Eata.	Eardulfus.	Eadredus.
Cuthbertus.	Cutheardus.	Egelricus.
Eadbertus.	Tilredus.	Egelwinus.
Eadfridus.	Wigredus.	Walcherus.
Ethelwoldus.	Uhtredus.	Willelmus.
Kynewulfus.	Sexhelmus.	Rannulfus.[a]
Higbaldus.		

[1] Erasa videtur vox "Rannulfum," Bedford.

[a] This is the last name in the original hand.

Hic scripta continentur nomina monachorum in hac ecclesia, ad incorrupti corporis sanctissimi Cuthberti præsentiam jam professorum, quorum nominibus præscriptis etiam illorum nomina qui futuris temporibus annuente Christo ibidem professionem facturi fuerint, ut scribendo adjungat, posterorum quæsumus sollertia semper meminisse studeat.

Præterea lectorem petimus, ut tam pro illo qui hoc opus fieri jusserat, quam pro illis [1] qui obediendo jussis id studio et labore perfecerint, [2] Domino Jhesu Christo preces fundere dignetur. Sed et pro omnibus, quorum hic nomina viderit, divinæ pietatis abundantiam invocare meminerit, vivis quidem postulans sanctæ professionis augmentum et bonæ perseverantiæ in futuro premium, et defunctis, ut percepta venia peccatorum, mereantur videre bona Domini in terra viventium. [3]

Aldwinus.
Elfwius
Willelmus.
Leofwinus.
Wulmorus.
Turgotus.
Edwinus.
Turkillus.
Columbanus.
10. Elfwinus.
Godwinus.
Elmarus.
Helias.
Suartebrandus.
Gamelo.
Godwinus.

Benedictus.
Martinus.
80. Joseph.
Papa.
Petrus.
Thomas.
Edwinus.
Lambertus.
Thomas.
Fulco.
Leviat . . . s.
Turoldus.
90. Ricardus.
Ainulfus.
Ald . . . s.
Laurentius.

Jacob.
Moyses.
Alexander.
Willelmus.
Albanus.
Henricus.
160. Silvester.
Rodbertus.
Ivo.
Benedictus.
Reginaldus.
Aculfus.
Reginaldus.
Ysaac.
Walterius.
Turoldus.

[1] *illo*, C.
[2] *perfecerit*, C.
[3] addit. C., "Verumtamen quibus "non vacat, vel legere plurima "non valent, hoc, si voluerint, "legant opus; compendiosa brevi-"tate poterunt scire.' *Explicit* "*Apologia Simeonis monachi.*"

Wikingus.
Godwinus.
Egelricus.
20. Seulfus.
Gregorius.
Edmundus.
Rotbertus.
Osburnus.
Dunningus.
Ernanus.
Edmundus.
Kytellus.
Romanus.
30. Godricus.
Nicholaus.
Heinricus.
Gregorius.
Alanus.
Willelmus.
Godselinus.
Eluredus.
Symeon.
Edwardus.
40. Gamelo.
Anskitillus.
Walterus.
Martinus.
Osmundus.
Godwinus.
Edmundus.
Rogerius.
Aldwinus.
Algarus.
50. Samuel.
Odo.
Willelmus.
Ricardus.

G . . . . . s.
Y . . . . . s.
D . . . . .
M . . . . . s.
Absalon.
Willelmus.
100. Ysaac.
David.
Mauricius.
Henricus.
Daniel.
Laurentius.
Odo Alanus.
Gregorius.
Radulfus.
Walterius.
110. Gervasius.
Antonius.
Suanus.
Moyses.
Adam.
Silvester.
Eilricus.
Albinus.
Simundus.
Vitalis.
120. Rogerius.
Jacob.
Daniel.
Rodbertus.
Rodbertus.
Petrus.
Samuel.
Johannes.
Ernanus.
Lifricus.
130. Theodricus.

170. Reginaldus.
Jurdanus.
Rodbertus.
Alanus.
Asketinus.
Johannes.
Bartholomeus.
Samson.
Helyas.
Germanus.
180. Walterius.
Ricardus.
Rodbertus.
Henricus.
Johannes.
Steinketel.
Ricarius.
Ambrosius.
Leofwinus.
Huetredus.
190. Thomas.
Alanus.
Arkillus.
Wigotus.
Gaufridus.
Elfridus.
Johannes.
Silvanus.
Barnardus.
Johel.
200. Walterius.
Rannulfus.
Asketinus.
Willelmus.
Elfredus.
Odo.
Rodbertus.

Johannes.
Normannus.
Leodgarus.
Farmannus.
Egelredus.
Rotbertus.
60. Vivianus.
Eluricus.
Radulfus.
Elfwinus.
Clibernus.
Brianus.
Bernardus.
Rogerius.
Rotbertus.
Baldwinus.
70. Siwardus.
Paulinus.
Siwardus.
Edmundus.[a]
Ælfredus.
Normannus.
Thurstinus.
Aidanus.

Radulfus.
Helyas.
Radulfus.
Æilricus.
Willelmus.
Ricardus.
Durandus.
Ælfredus.
Serlo.
140. Willelmus.
Ricardus.
Augustinus.
Asketinus.
Lambertus.
Turoldus.
Leofwinus.
Rodbertus.
Hugo.
Jacobus.
150. Alanus.
Waltheus.
Joseph.
Rogerius.

Clibertus.
Altwinus.
Fabianus.
210. Herebertus.
Hugo.
Gaufridus.
Olaf.
Elwinus.
Constantinus
Willelmus.
Walterius.
Willelmus.
Ricardus.
220. Osmundus.
Gilebertus.
Rodbertus.
Gregorius.
Petrus.
Absalon.
Patricius.
Suanus.
Theodbaldus.
Girardus.

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[a] This is the last name in the original hand; the remainder are in a hand about fifty years later.

[EPITOME.]

INCIPIT PRÆFATIO REVERENDI Simeonis monachi et præcentoris ecclesiæ Sancti Cuthberti Dunelmi, in historia de exordio Christianitatis et religionis totius Northumbriæ, de fide et origine sancti Oswaldi regis et martyris, et de prædicatione sancti Aidani episcopi.[a]

The see of Lindisfarne, or Durham, founded by St. Aidan.

REGNANTE apud Northanymbros Christianissimo rege et postea martyre Oswaldo, vir eximiæ sanctitatis Aidanus, primus in regno ejusdem regis verbum fidei prædicans, primus Lindisfarnensis sive Dunelmensis ecclesiæ fuit episcopus, sedemque episcopalem simul et monachicam, ut venerabilis presbyter et monachus Beda in historia Anglorum attestatur, in ipsa ecclesia habitationem jubente rege præfato et cooperante instituit, anno ab incarnatione Domini DCXXXV. Ex hac ecclesia omnes ecclesiæ et monasteria provinciæ Berniciorum sumpserunt exordium. Regio enim Northanymbrorum in duas dividitur provincias, Deirorum scilicet et Berniciorum. Permansit autem in præfata ecclesia monachorum congregatio nobilis et religiosa, per CCXL. annos. Exinde crudelis barbarorum manus innumeris navibus in Angliam transvecta, omnia quaquaversum depopulans, etiam reges qui tunc plures erant Anglorum, inter quos et Edmundum martyrem gloriosum, interfecit. Northanhymbrorum autem provincias atrocius devastans, omnes ecclesias, omnia monasteria ferro et

The monastery destroyed by the Danes

[a] This so-called Preface is merely an epitome of the contents of the History itself. The heading to it, as above, only occurs in C. Though it precedes the true preface ("Exordium" &c.) in D., yet the writer of C. did not judge ill when he transposed the two, for this epitome was probably the result of an afterthought, placed by Symeon before the preface because it could not without much erasure appear in its proper place.

in the ninth century, and the monks murdered.

incendio delevit, adeo ut nullum pene Christianitatis signum post se discedens reliquerit. Vix episcopus suprascriptæ[1] ecclesiæ Eardulfus, cum incorrupto Sancti Cuthberti confessoris corpore fugiens, evasit mortem cum paucis. Porro monachi qui loci reverentia confidentes remanserant, de ecclesia extracti, alii in mare ab hostibus submersi, alii captivi abducti, alii detruncati, alii aliis tormentis miserabiliter affecti, omnes simul interierunt. Tali modo monachica congregatio defecit apud corpus Sancti Cuthberti. Porro jam memoratus episcopus et post eum aliquot sui successores, dominantibus per multos annos in provincia barbaris, cum sacri corporis thesauro incertis huc illucque sedibus vagabantur, nusquam ante faciem barbarorum et gladii imminentis habentes requiem, donec pace reddita, et facta divinitus revelatione, in Dunelmum, ubi nunc requiescit, perlatum sit. Peremptis autem, ut dictum est, memoratæ ecclesiæ monachis, parvuli qui inter illos nutriebantur et instituebantur sub disciplina diligenter, quoquo modo evadentes manus hostium, corpus quidem sancti confessoris comitati sunt; sed tradita sibi districtione paulatim postposita, ecclesiasticam disciplinam odio habuerunt, remissioris vitæ illecebras sequuti. Nec erat qui eos sub ecclesiastica censura coerceret, utpote cultura Dei destructis monasteriis et ecclesiis pœne deficiente. Seculariter itaque omnino viventes, carni et sanguini inserviebant, filios et filias generantes. Quorum posteri per successionem in ecclesia Dunelmensi fuerunt nimis remisse viventes, nec ullam nisi carnalem vitam quam ducebant scientes, nec scire volentes. Clerici vocabantur, sed nec habitu nec conversatione clericatum prætendebant. Ordinem psalmorum in canendis horis secundum regulam Sancti Benedicti institutum tenuerunt, hoc solum a primis institutoribus monachorum per paternam traditionem sibi transmissam servantes.

The relics of St. Cuthbert are saved, but the guardians of them cease to observe regular discipline.

[1] *supradictæ*, Twys.

Bishop Walcher bewails this state of things.

At Willelmo majore regnum Angliæ adepto, cum ecclesiarum et monasteriorum recalesceret religio, Walcherus de clero Leodiensis ecclesiæ in præsulatum ecclesiæ Dunelmensis sublimatur, vir natu nobilis, sed prudentia et honestate nobilior. Videns in ecclesia nec sui ordinis clericos, nec monachos, graviter indoluit. Quippe quos nec ad emendatiorem vitam, nec ad mores ecclesiasticos corrigibiles invenit. Relegens autem historiam Anglorum et vitam Sancti Cuthberti, quæ utraque venerabilis Beda composuit, repperit monachorum congregationem a primo ipsius ecclesiæ præsule Aidano et Oswaldo rege, ut supradictum est, ibidem locatam, et ante præsulatum Sancti Cuthberti, et post, ad corpus ipsius Deo deservisse, donec, sicut dictum est, hostilis impietas eam funditus extinxisset. Cogitans ergo antiquum in ecclesia restaurare servitium, Deum oravit, ut actiones suas aspirando præveniret, et adjuvando prosequeretur. Nec multo post, quidam spiritu pauperes monachi in australibus Angliæ partibus divinitus commoniti, ut Deo servituri in provincia Northanymbrorum peregrinarentur, ad episcopum venerunt Walcherum, rogabantque ut in suo eis episcopatu ubi possent habitare, et si quos forte valerent servituros Deo sibi liceret aggregare. Lætior solito fit episcopus, eosque quasi a Deo sibi missos dulciter amplectitur, et reddita Deo gratiarum actione benignissime suscipit. Mittensque illos in Gyruum et Wiramuthe, duo sui episcopatus loca ubi sanctorum quondam fuerant habitationes, ibi præcepit interim manere, sibique quos possent in Dei famulatum associare, donec processu temporis et maturo consilio, constructis habitaculis, eos monachos monachi simul et episcopi Cuthberti corpori vicinius adjungeret. Fecerunt ut jusserat, et reædificantes destructa sanctorum habitacula, exemplo vitæ et doctrina nonnullis profuerunt, ut mundo abrenunciantes eos propositi sui comites haberent. Exultat in his vehementer episcopus, quoniam per hos sperabat

Some southern monks repair to him; he settles them at Wearmouth and Jarrow.

He begins to build a monastery at Durham; is murdered before he can complete it.

sacræ religionis augmentum, ubi pœne totius honestatis et pietatis invenerat defectum. Interim circa parietes Dunelmensis ecclesiæ jactis fundamentis, cœpit ædificare habitacula monachorum habitationi congrua. Sed priusquam ea perficeret, crudeli suorum manibus morte præventus est.

His successor, William of St. Karileph, with the consent of pope Gregory VII., removes the monks from Wearmouth and Jarrow to Durham,

Cui succedens in episcopatum Guillelmus, vir, ut omnes qui eum noverant attestantur, magnæ prudentiæ et consilii, locum ecclesiastica et monastica destitutum observatione ingemuit. Revolvens et ipse antiquorum scripta, ecclesiam illam a monachis, videlicet Aidano monacho et pontifice, et a monachis quos secum adduxerat, in primis fundatam repperit et perfectam; sed a paganis monachos interficientibus primæva servitute destitutam. Itaque decrevit Deo auctore antiqua restaurare, quæque prædecessor suus inceperat, ad effectum perducere. Alloquitur primo illos quos in ecclesia invenerat, ut vel clerici regulares, vel monachi fierent, ut quovis ordine disciplinati vitam ducerent. Sed quoniam durum eis erat assueta relinquere, et in veteri mente nova meditari, neutrum admiserunt. Episcopus regi magno Guillelmo universa replicans, et quæ in libris scripta de ecclesia sæpedicta, et quæ nunc in ea invenerat, mox ab ipso rege ad beatæ recordationis Gregorium septimum papam mittitur, tam de his eum consulturus quam de aliis quæ sibi mandaverat. Cui cum de beati patris Cuthberti sanctitate quædam licet pauca dixisset, illius per omnia sibi placuit consilium, ut videlicet monachos quos in duobus episcopatus locis Guiramuthe et Girwe invenerat, in unum coram sancto illius corpore congregaret, quia episcopatus parvitas ad tria monachorum cœnobia non sufficeret. Hoc quoque Apostolica confirmando auctoritate, regi, archiepiscopis, et episcopis Angliæ suam super hoc voluntatem remandavit et consensum. Unde rex valde gavisus, assistentibus totius regni primatibus, præcepit ut rem quantocius ad effectum perduceret episcopus. Quod

factum est. Evocatis namque de prædictis locis monachis, qui jam Spiritu Sancto filios Dei qui erant dispersi in unum congregante, plures commanebant, Dunelmum transtulit, ubi morum suorum sicut est consuetudo conversionem profitentes et stabilitatem, tam præsentes quam successores eorum inseparabiliter beati Cuthberti corpori astrinxit. Sicque ad illum monachicæ conversationis ordinem non novum instituit, sed antiquum Deo renovante restituit.

where the rule of St. Benedict is thenceforth strictly observed.

[Explicit Epitome.]

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI PRIMI.[a]

I. De fide et origine sancti Oswaldi, et prædicatione sancti Aidani, quæ sunt primitiva fundamenta ecclesiæ Dunelmi.

II. Quo anno beatus Oswaldus ecclesiam Lindisfarnensem fundaverit, et quo de hoc seculo migraverit, et de præsulatu Aidani, et integritate brachii sancti Oswaldi.

III. De obitu sancti Aidani, cujus animæ exitus revelatus est oculis beati Cuthberti, et quo tempore Cuthbertus susceperit habitum monachi.

IV. De Finano episcopo, quomodo regem Merciorum baptizaverit, et eis episcopum de suis ordinaverit, et Ced ab eo consecratus quid fecerit.

V. Qualiter Colmannus episcopatum dimiserit, et episcopus Tudda obierit, et sibi Eatam successurum impetraverit.

VI. Quo tempore Eata episcopatum perceperit, et beati Cuthberti conversio facta sit, et quanta spirituali perfectione vitæ suæ profectum instituerit.

VII. Quando beatus Cuthbertus Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ prioratum acceperit, et qua dulcedine in anachoresi vixerit.

[a] This table of contents is not found in the oldest MSS; it is however met with in C. I am inclined to think that it was compiled by Reginald; it is quite in his style; see a similar table to his Life of St. Oswald in the Appendix.

VIII. Quo tempore sanctus Beda natus sit, et de monasterio illius, et quanta scientia tunc in Anglia claruerit.

IX. De electione sancti Cuthberti, et quomodo de Farne eductus sit, et ubi consecratus, et quæ rex ei Egfridus eo die dederit.

X. Qualiter in episcopatu sanctus Cuthbertus vixerit, et quomodo de mundo emigraverit, et se ad Lindisfarnensem ecclesiam reduci permiserit.

XI. Quomodo post undecim sepulturæ annos corpus ejus incorruptum repertum sit, et de Eadberto episcopo et Ethelwoldo, qui uterque ei in anachoresi successit, et qua ætate Beda ejus vitam scripserit.

XII. De Ethelwoldo episcopo, et cruce lapidea quam fecit.

XIII. De Ceulfi regis prosapia, et vita ejus, et patientia.

XIV. Quo ævo vel tempore sanctus Beda obierit, qualiter vixerit, et quanta scripserit.

XV. Epistola de transitu sancti Bedæ, et ejus conversatione.

Expliciunt capitula libri primi.

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI SECUNDI.

I. Quando et ubi Ceolfus rex monachus factus sit, et quanta secum dederit, et a quo apud Northam corpus illius delatum sit.

II. Qualiter quidam de regio genere ad pacem beati Cuthberti confugerit, et inde abstractus sit, et quomodo Kinewlf episcopus pro eo in carcere trusus sit, et de morte sancti Baltherii.

III. De industria et conversione regis Edberti, et fratris ejus præsulatu, atque ipsius obitu.

IV. De occisione regis Osulfi, et quo tempore Kinewlf episcopatum Higbaldo dimiserit, et obierit, et quomodo vel ubi rex Elwoldus peremptus sit.

V. De destructione ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensis et celeri ultione, et de Higbaldo, Egberto, et Egredo episcopis, et terris per illos acquisitis.

VI. De secunda per Danos Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ et Northymbriæ depopulatione, et quo tempore, vel quare Eardulfus episcopus corpus sancti Cuthberti de insula tulerit, et quale servitium deinceps celebratum sit a clericis.

VII. Quare feminæ in ecclesia sancti Cuthberti non intrent, et de excessu sanctimonialium quondam in Coldingaham.

VIII. De femina quæ cimiterium sancti Cuthberti introiit, quam celeri vindicta punita sit.

IX. Item de alia quæ per cimiterium cucurrit, qua morte seipsam extinxerit.

X. De peste per Danos illata, et de septem portitoribus sancti Cuthberti, et de visione regis Elfredi.

XI. Quomodo corpus sancti Cuthberti ad Hyberniam transferri debuit, sed unda in sanguinem conversa tempestate subita redactum sit.

XII. De portitoribus sacri corporis ex diutino labore pertæsis. Quæ nomina eis fuerint. Et qualiter equum, frænum, carrumque prædicente S. Cuthberto invenerint, et textum Evangeliorum in mare triduo demersum illæsum receperint.

XIII. Quomodo jussu sancti Cuthberti Guthredus sit rex effectus, et de donis ejus, privilegiis et largitionibus.

XIV. Item de dignitatibus, et ecclesiæ privilegiis.

XV. Quid rex Elfredus moriens Edwardo filio suo præceperit.

XVI. De episcopo Cutheardo, et quomodo Eadward monarchiam perceperit, et de Onlafbald, qualiter in limite ecclesiæ sancti Cuthberti interierit.

XVII. De Tilredo episcopo, et de mandato regi Ethelstano per avum suum facto.

XVIII. De episcopo Wigredo, et quanta Ethelstanus rex sancto Cuthberto dedit, quando in Scotiam perrexit.

XIX. Quomodo sanctus Cuthbertus Sexelmum episcopum pepulit, et de terra sua fugaverit.

XX. De morte Edmundi regis, et episcopatu Elsig.

Expliciunt capitula libri secundi.

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI TERTII.

I. Quomodo Aldunus corpus sancti Cuthberti in Rippum tulerit, et de Werdelau postea in Dunelmum venerit.

II. Qualiter locus ille habitabilis factus sit.

III. De contracta quadam sanata in loco ubi beati Cuthberti corpus requieverat.

IV. Quo tempore Aldunus episcopus ecclesiam in Dunelmo dedicaverit, et quot donariis a potentibus ditata sit.

V. De Cnut rege, et oratione Alduni episcopi, et morte.

VI. Qualiter voce ter de sepulchro sancti Cuthberti emissa, Edmundus ipsius ecclesiæ clericus ad episcopatum sit provectus, et monachus factus.

VII. De Elfredo presbytero, quomodo in ecclesia sancti Cuthberti claruerit, et de capillo quem in igne posuit, et de reliquiis sacris pluribus, quas beato Cuthberto revelante in Dunelmum comportavit.

VIII. Quanta Cnut rex sancto Cuthberto dederit.

IX. De obsessione Dunelmi, et celeri vindicta regis et episcopi simoniaci, et de Egelrico episcopo, qui thesauros beati Cuthberti sustulit, quomodo punitus sit.

X. De presbytero nocte fornicante, et in crastino missas celebrante, quomodo particulam corporis cum sanguine in nigredinem conversam viderit, et percipiendo nimiam amaritudinem senserit.

XI. Quomodo uxor Tosti comitis puellam in cimiterium beati Cuthberti miserit, et mox infirmata in proximo obierit, et de imaginibus deargentatis.

XII. De quodam in campo obdormiente, cujus collum serpens constrinxit, sed in introitu ecclesiæ sancti Cuthberti semper ab eo dissiliit, qualiter liberatus sit.

XIII. De quodam ad sepulchrum in ore denarios furante, qualiter sit punitus et restitutus.

XIV. De donis Copsi comitis.

XV. De Edwardo rege et Willelmo, et de Rodberto Cumin apud Dunelmum occiso, et quomodo aquæ maris irriguæ cesserint, beati Cuthberti corpore ad insulam adveniente.

XVI. De apparitione sancti Oswaldi et beati Cuthberti, et subita morte Gillonis, et ab eis prædicta pœna ultionis.

XVII. De Egelwino episcopo qui partem thesauri tulit, quomodo reductus sit et captus.

XVIII. De electione Walkeri episcopi, sed tamen clerici.

XIX. De rege Willelmo, qui beati Cuthberti corpus, an Dunelmi quiesceret, explorare voluit, qualiter punitus et fugatus sit.

XX. Quomodo rex Willelmus Ranulfum miserit, ut terram sancti Cuthberti sub tributo redigeret: sed, beato Cuthberto vindicante, furiosus sit effectus, et restitutus, et de privilegiis Willelmi regis.

XXI. Qualiter Aldunus de Wincencumb cum duobus fratribus de Eovesham in Northymbriam advenerint, et quomodo ab episcopo Walkero suscepti sint, et fructificaverint.

XXII. De fratre ad Streneshalch pergente, et de undamine ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ Eboraci, et quomodo Walkerus iterum Aldunum revocaverit, et Weremuthe cum cæteris terris eis adjecerit.

XXIII. De provectu episcopi, et suorum rapina feroci, et qualia tunc quidam de morte reviviscens, de episcopo et cæteris multis viderit, et prædixerit.

XXIV. Qualiter episcopus Walkerus, et ubi occisus et sepultus sit, et quomodo pro eo vindicatum, et ecclesia beati Cuthberti spoliata sit.

Expliciunt capitula libri tertii.

INCIPUNT CAPITULA LIBRI QUARTI.

I. Qualiter Willelmus episcopus electus et sacratus sit, et quantæ vir scientiæ, probitatis, et gratiæ fuerit.

II. Quomodo clericos de ecclesia beati Cuthberti ejecerit, et auctoritate papæ et regis monachos præfatos introduxerit.

III. Quo die et tempore monachos Dunelmum duxerit, et eos benedixerit, et officia singula eis distribuerit.

IV. De corpore sancti Oswini, et de possessione ecclesiæ de Tinemuthe et illius violenta ablatione.

V. Quanta Willelmus episcopus acquisierit, et qualem se subditis exhibuerit.

VI. Epistola Willelmi episcopi ad monachos Dunelmenses.

VII. De obitu prioris Alduni, et successione Turgoti.

VIII. De exilio Willelmi episcopi, et quando posuerit fundamenta in Dunelmo novi monasterii.

IX. Qualia Boso miles de cœnobitis Dunelmensibus viderit, et quanta de obitu Willelmi episcopi prædixerit.

X. Ubi idem Willelmus episcopus obierit, et quomodo Dunelmum corpus ejus delatum sit.[a]

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[a] Following the table of contents for the history of the church of Durham, Twysden found in his Cambridge MS., and incontinently printed, an extract from Malmesbury about Alfred's genealogy, and a historical sketch of the kings of Northumbria, from Ida to Henry I. This sketch was certainly not written by Symeon, and has nothing to do with the church of Durham. If included in this edition at all, it will appear in the second volume, as an appendix to the *Historia Regum*.

SYMEONIS MONACHI HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIÆ.

INCIPIT LIBELLUS DE EXORDIO ATQUE PROCURSU ISTIUS, HOC EST, DUNHELMENSIS ECCLESIÆ.[a]

Lib. I. Cap. I.

De fide et origine sancti Oswaldi, et prædicatione sancti Aidani, quæ sunt primitiva fundamenta ecclesiæ Dunelmi.

St. Oswald king and martyr the true founder of the church of Durham.

Gloriosi quondam regis Northanhymbrorum[1] et preciosi martyris Oswaldi ferventissima in Christo fide, hæc sancta ecclesia, videlicet quæ, in Dei laudem et perpetuam sui tutelam, ipsas sacræ venerationis reliquias, incorruptum scilicet sanctissimi patris Cuth-

[1] D.F.; *Northanimbrorum*, C.

[a] This is the original heading, executed in red and blue letters, of the Durham MS., and also of the Cottonian MS., called F. in this edition. In the Cambridge MS., the heading (reproduced by Twysden) runs, — "Incipit historia "sanctæ et suavis memorie "Simeonis monachi Sancti Cuth-"berti Dunelmi, de exordio Chris-"tianitatis et religionis totius "Northumbriæ, et de exortu et "processu Lindisfarnensis sive "Dunelmensis ecclesiæ." In another Cottonian MS. (Titus A. II.) and also in the Bodleian MS. Fairfax VI., the heading is, "Incipit libellus de statu Lindis-"farnensis, id est, Dunelmensis "ecclesiæ, secundum venerabilem "Bedam presbyterum, et postmodo "de gestis episcoporum Dunel-"miæ."

berti corpus, et ejusdem regis ac martyris caput Lib. I. venerandum, intra unius loculi conservat hospitium, sui status ac religionis sacræ sumpsit exordium. Licet enim causis existentibus alibi quam ab ipso sit locata, nihilominus tamen stabilitate fidei, dignitate quoque et auctoritate cathedræ Pontificalis, statu etiam monachicæ habitationis quæ ab ipso rege et Aidano pontifice ibidem instituta est, ipsa eadem ecclesia Deo auctore fundata permanet. Quoniam igitur de ipsa quædam veritate subnixa scribere decrevimus, congruum videtur, ut de fundatoris ipsius, præfati scilicet regis, ingenita secundum carnem nobilitate pauca præmittamus. Siquidem claris admodum natalibus est ortus, non solum patre sed etiam avis dignitate regia præcellentibus, fratre quoque uno ante, altero vero post illum regni apice pollentibus: erat namque filius potentissimi regis Ethelfridi, cujus pater Ethelricus rex, cujus pater Ida rex, a quo (ut Beda refert) regalis Northanhymbrorum prosapia cepit originem. Nec tantum paterna sed et materna quoque origine clarissimam duxit genealogiam, ex sorore videlicet Edwini regis procreatus. Sed progenitoribus fidei Christianæ penitus ignaris, ille ut rosa de spinis effloruit, salutari utique fonte Christo regeneratus, atque ipsa sacrosancta regeneratione dignissime vivens. Regno enim potitus, gentem sibi subditam secum mox Christo subdidit, utpote in verbo fidei pontifici Aidano socius et cooperator existens egregius. Prædicante namque in sua, id est, Scottorum lingua episcopo, ille qui hanc æque ut suam perfecte noverat, rex utique Regis æterni minister devotus assistere, et fidus interpres fidei ducibus suis ac ministris ministrare solebat verba salutis. Verum qualis quantusque fuerit, quantæ erga fidei religionem devotionis, quantæque in pauperes misericordiæ ac benignitatis, et quam maxime inter curas regni deditus orationi, quæ et quanta post mortem illius ad indicium ejus jam

His descent.

Bed. v. 24.

He becomes king of Northumbria, A.D. 635.

Beda relates how he and St. Aidan laboured for the

Lib. I.

cum Christo viventis claruerint miracula, ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum, Beda describente, declarat historia. Porro hic nos id studii occupat, ut ex hujus sanctæ, hoc est, ecclesiæ Dunelmensis exordio, procursu, quæque in præfata historia, aliis quoque opusculis inveniri poterant, ad memoriam posterorum in unum ex ordine compacta, quoddam libelli corpusculum perficiant. Nonnulla etiam quæ defectu scriptorum litteris non fuerant tradita, seniorum autem veracium relatione, qui ea vel viderant vel a patribus suis viris religiosis fideque dignissimis qui interfuere sæpius audierant, ad nostram notitiam pervenerunt, vel quæ et nos ipsi vidimus, his quæ ex aliorum scriptis collecta sunt adjungenda credimus.

conversion of the people.

Object of the writer.

His materials.

Cap. II.

Quo anno beatus Oswaldus ecclesiam Lindisfarnensem fundaverit, et quo de hoc seculo migraverit, et de præsulatu Aidani, et integritate brachii sancti Oswaldi.

Anno igitur Dominicæ incarnationis DCXXXV°, qui est annus adventus Anglorum in Britanniam CLXXXVIII., adventus vero sancti Augustini XXXIX., piissimus rex Oswaldus secundo imperii sui anno venienti ad se Aidano sedem episcopalem in insula Lindisfarnensi constituit, ubi et ipse antistes, jubente, suffragante, et cooperante rege, monachorum qui secum venerant habitationem instituit, hoc illis rege scilicet et episcopo procurantibus, ut et pontificali auctoritate fides roboraretur novella, et monachica institutione semper in posterum caperet augmentum religionis observantia. Unde, sicut legimus et seniorum traditione percepimus, ad ipsius ecclesiæ præsulatum monachi

A.D. 635. St. Aidan establishes a bishop's see at Lindisfarne,

on which none but monks ever sat till after the Conquest.

solebant eligi, exemplo nimirum primi antistitis Aidani, Lib. I. qui et monachus erat, et monachicam vitam cum suis omnibus agere solebat. Quod ab anno incarnationis Dominicæ DCXXXV. observatum est usque annum incarnationis ejusdem MLXXII., quando de clericali ordine in episcopatum consecratus est vir religiosus de Hlothariorum gente Gualcherus. Nam inter episcopos nec commemorandum arbitror illum [a] qui multo ante de clero per symoniacam heresim ordinatus, sed morte præventus nullum episcopale officium est facere permissus. At ut ad propositum redeatur, Aidanus ipsius ecclesiæ primus et præsul et monachus omnibus sibi successuris, et episcopis et monachis, in via Domini qua præcesserat se sequendum præmonstravit. Cujus vitam cum multa laude venerabilis Beda prosequutus esset, Bed. iii. 17. Ut multa, inquit, breviter comprehendam, quantum ab eis qui illum novere didicimus, nihil ex omnibus quæ in evangelicis sive apostolicis sive propheticis literis facienda cognoverat prætermittere, sed cuncta pro suis viribus operibus explere curabat. Hujus præsulatus anno octavo, regni autem sui nono, [b] sanctissimus ac piissimus rex Oswaldus, primus in tota Berniciorum gente signifer fidei Christianæ et fundator ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensis, ex qua omnium ejusdem provinciæ ecclesiarum manarunt primordia, a paganis in bello prostratus occubuit. Cujus caput in cimiterio ecclesiæ præfatæ, manus vero cum brachiis quas rex interfector a corpore præcidi jusserat, in urbe regia conditæ sunt: dextera cum brachio votum benedictionis Aidani episcopi per incorruptionem præferente, quæ etiam ad nostram usque ætatem utriusque meritum, regis scilicet atque pontificis, gratia suæ incorruptionis ostendit; sicut nostræ, hoc est, Dunhelmensis ecclesiæ monachus venerandæ canitiei et multæ simplicitatis, vocabulo Swartebran-

Death of Oswald, A.D. 642.

His right hand preserved incorrupt.

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[a] Sexhelm; *see* below, ii. 19.

[b] *nono.*] The year or more during which Eanfrid reigned is reckoned as belonging to Oswald; *see* Beda, H. E. iii. 1.

Lib. I. dus, qui nuper, episcopatum Willelmo administrante, defunctus est, sæpius se vidisse attestatus est. Nam, Bed. iii. 6. ut Beda narrat, die sancto Paschæ, sedente ad mensam rege, cum discus illi argenteus esset appositus epulis regalibus refertus, subito nunciatur multitudinem pauperum in platea sedere et eleemosinæ aliquid a rege expectare. Nec mora, dapes sibimet appositas pauperibus deferri, et eundem discum inter eos præcepit minutatim dividi. Quo facto pietatis pontifex qui assidebat delectatus, apprehendens dexteram ejus ait, "Nunquam inveterascat hæc "manus." Porro ossa illius in monasterium,[a] quod in provincia Lindissi situm est, translata sunt.

Cap. III.

De obitu sancti Aidani, cujus animæ exitus revelatus est oculis beati Cuthberti, et quo tempore Cuthbertus susceperit habitum monachi.

Peractis in episcopatu decem et septem annis, præsul Aidanus viam patrum est ingressus, cui mors temporalis lætum vitæ alterius pandebat introitum. Cujus in Christo sublimium meritorum gloriam, etiam miraculorum quibus et ante et post mortem sublimiter effulserat, tertio superius memoratæ historiæ declarante libro testantur indicia. Hujus ad cœlos felicem triumphum, cœlestium agminum choris eximia cum claritate deducentibus, ille Israelita in quo dolus non erat, in carne non secundum carnem vivens, ille cujus a puero tota conversatio erat in cœlis, ille, inquam, conversationis angelicæ juvenis egregius, sanctissimus videlicet Cuthbertus videre promeruit. Num cum pastor futurus animarum, agens in montibus custodiam pecorum juxta fluvium Leder, solus secretis pernoctaret in orationibus, jamque studio et amore totus in cœlum raperetur, tantæ gloriæ ac beatitudinis con-

Death of St. Aidan, A.D. 651.

Bed. Vit. S. Cuthb.

Cuthbert, then a shepherd, sees in a vision Aidan ascending to glory.

[a] Bardney abbey; *see* Bed. H. E. iii. 11.

A.D. 651. templatione dignus habebatur. Qua visione dilectus Lib. I. Deo adolescens incitatus ad subeundum arctioris propositi gradum, ad promerendam inter magnificos altioris præmii gloriam, mane facto . . . . statim commendans suis pecora quæ pascebat dominis, perfectioris vitæ gratia monasterium petere decrevit. Anno enim Dominicæ incarnationis DCLI., ab adventu sancti Augustini in Britanniam LV., ex quo autem provincia Berniciorum industria regis Oswaldi fidem Christi perceperat anno XVII., quo pontifex Aidanus ad cœlestia transiit, qui est annus imperii regis Oswiu nonus, juvenis ille sanctissimus Christo soli famulaturus monasterium Mailrosense[a] intravit, susceptus a reverentissimo abbate Eata, suggerente ei de Cuthberto Boisilo, eximiæ sanctitatis et prophetici spiritus viro, qui ipsum monasterium secundus ab abbate præpositi jure gubernabat. Junctus fratrum consortio, qualis quantusque fuerit, quam majoris super cæteros virtutis, per observantiam disciplinæ regularis, per instantiam legendi, operandi, vigilandi, ab omni quod inebriare potest abstinendi, et per exercitia cujusque pii laboris, in libro vitæ ipsius luculento sermone Beda prosequitur. Et, ut nos plura paucis comprehendamus, factus est monachus, plane monachus, monachus, inquam, venerabilis ac per cuncta digne laudabilis, corpore, mente, habitu, castris associatus Dominicis. Hunc beatus Boisilus pro insita sibi puritate ac pia intentione præ cæteris dilexit, et scripturarum scientia erudivit, sicut in hac ecclesia servatus codex, in quo eo docente ipse didicerat, per tanta annorum curricula prisca novitate ac decore mirabilis hodieque demonstrat. Translato ad cœlestia Boisilo, vir Domini Cuthbertus in præpositi officium magistro successit, et quotidiano virtutum profectu æquiparare vel etiam

He resolves to enter a monastery,

and chooses Melrose.

His austere life there.

He is made provost.

[a] Old Melrose, of which no remains are now left; it was built within a singular bend of the Tweed, about three miles below the site of the ruins of Melrose abbey.

ib. I. supergredi contendit. Qui quam studiose verbo et exemplo universos ad cœlestia vocaverit, quam sublimiter miraculorum gloria coruscaverit, quanta gratiæ prophetalis luce præfulserit, qui nosse desiderat, præfatum vitæ ipsius librum legat.

Cap. IV.

De Finano episcopo, quomodo regem Merciorum baptizaverit et eis episcopum de suis ordinaverit, et Ced ab eo consecratus quid fecerit.

Successit autem Aidano in episcopatum Finan, ab eadem gente et monasterio unde et prædecessor ejus fuerat missus. Qui in insula Lindisfarnensi fecit ecclesiam sedi episcopali congruam, ... quam tempore sequente reverentissimus archiepiscopus Theodorus in honore beati Petri apostoli dedicavit, sed episcopus loci illius Eadbertus, de quo in sequentibus dicemus,[a] ablata arundine[b] plumbi laminis eam totam, hoc est et tectum et ipsos quoque parietes ejus cooperire curavit. Ab hoc episcopo, scilicet Finano, princeps mediterraneorum Anglorum Peada in provincia Northanhymbrorum baptizatus est, et acceptis quatuor presbyteris qui ad docendam baptizandamque gentem illius eruditione et vita videbantur idonei, multo cum gaudio reversus est. Nec multo post rex Orientalium Saxonum Sigbertus ab eodem episcopo lavacrum salutis accepit; siquidem provincia illa fidem quam olim expulso Mellito antistite abjecerat, industria regis Oswiu, converso ad fidem Christi rege præfato, recepit, prædicante ibi verbum Christi de natione Anglorum presbytero et Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ monacho Cedd, a rege Oswiu illuc in hoc ipsum misso, qui prius etiam apud mediterraneos Anglos verbo prædicationis multum fructificaverat. Cum ergo in provincia Orientalium Saxonum

Finan succeeds St. Aidan.

Bed. iii. 25. Bed. iii. 21. Bed. iii. 22.

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[a] See below, capp. x. xi.

[b] *arundine*] The reed thatch with which the church had been roofed by Finan; see Bed. iii. 25.

multam Domino ecclesiam congregasset, contigit quodam Lib. I.
tempore ut ad Lindisfarnensem ecclesiam propter colloquium Finani episcopi rediret. Qui ubi prosperatum ei opus evangelii comperit, fecit eum episcopum in gente Orientalium Saxonum. Qui accepto gradu episcopatus rediit ad provinciam, et . . . . in civitate quæ . . . . Ythancester appellatur, sed et . . . . in illa quæ Tilaburg cognominatur, quarum prior est in ripa Pente amnis, secunda in ripa Tamesis, ... collecto examine famulorum Christi disciplinam vitæ regularis . . . . custodire docuit. Tertium quoque monasterium in provincia Northanhymbrorum in Lestingaheu construxit, et religiosis moribus, juxta ritus Lindisfarnensium ubi educatus erat, instituit. In quo ipse moriens dedit illud regendum Ceadda fratri suo. Qui et ipse monachus erat ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensis, unus videlicet de discipulis Aidani, qui postea, jubente rege Oswiu, Eboracensis ecclesiæ ordinatus est episcopus. Nec multo post, Theodoro archiepiscopo præcipiente, provinciæ Merciorum prælatus in loco qui Licetfeld nuncupatur sedem habuit pontificalem.

He ordains Cedd bishop, A.D. 654.

Bed. iii. 23.

St. Chad, Cedd's brother, was a monk of Lindisfarne.

Bed. iv. 3.

Cap. V.

Qualiter Colmannus episcopatum dimiserit, et episcopus Tudda obierit, et sibi Eatam successurum impetraverit.

Colman succeeds Finan at Lindisfarne, A.D. 661.

Bed. iii. 25.

Defuncto autem Finano decimo sui episcopatus anno, Colmannus et ipse a Scotia missus ad ecclesiæ regimen successit. Qui tribus annis in episcopatu exactis, orta dissensione de observatione Paschæ, malens ipse morem suæ gentis sequi, relicto episcopatu patriam reversus est, anno scilicet pontificatus Scottorum quem gesserunt in provincia Anglorum tricesimo.

A.D. 664.

Bed. iii 26.

Quantæ autem parsimoniæ, cujus continentiæ fuerint, testabatur etiam locus ille quem regebant, ubi abeuntibus eis, excepta ecclesia, paucissimæ domus repertæ sunt. . . . Nil pecuniarum absque pecoribus habebant, siquid enim pecuniæ a divitibus accipiebant, mox pauperibus dabant.

The piety of the Scottish bishops.

Lib. I. Nam neque ad susceptionem potentum seculi, vel pecunias colligi, vel domos provideri necesse fuit, qui nunqnam ad ecclesiam nisi orationis tantum et audiendi verbi Dei causa veniebant. Rex ipse, cum opportunitas exegisset, cum quinque tantum aut sex ministris veniebat, et expleta . . . oratione discedebat. Quod si forte eos ibi refici contingeret, simplici tantum et quotidiano fratrum cibo contenti nihil ultra quærebant. Tota enim fuit sollicitudo tunc doctoribus illis Deo serviendi, non seculo, tota cura cordis excolendi, non ventris. . . . . . Qui in tantum erant ab omni avaritiæ peste castigati, ut nemo territoria ac possessiones ad construenda monasteria nisi a potestatibus seculi coactus acciperet. Quæ consuetudo per omnia aliquanto post hæc tempore in ecclesiis Northanhymbrorum servata est.

Bed. iii. 26. Abiens autem domum Colmannus assumpsit secum partem ossium reverentissimi patris Aidani, partem vero in ecclesia cui præerat reliquit, et in secretario ejus condi præcepit. Quo patriam reverso, suscepit pro illo pontificatum Northanhymbrorum, famulus Christi Tuda, qui apud Scottos austrinos eruditus erat atque ordinatus episcopus, ... vir quidem bonus ac religiosus, sed eodem anno superveniente pestilentia, ac provinciam Northanhymbrorum depopulante raptus est de mundo. Porro fratribus qui in Lindisfarnensi ecclesia etiam Scottis abeuntibus remanere maluerunt, præpositus est abbatis jure vir reverentissimus ac mansuetissimus Eata, qui erat abbas in monasterio quod vocatur Mailros, quod aiunt Colmannum abiturum petiisse et impetrasse a rege Oswio, eo quod esset idem Eata unus de duodecim pueris Aidani, quos primo episcopatus sui tempore de natione Anglorum erudiendos in Christo acceperat. Multum namque eundem episcopum Colmannum rex pro insita illi prudentia diligebat.

Colman returns to Iona; Tuda succeeds, but dies soon after.

Bed. iii. 27. cap. 26.

Cap. VI.

Quo tempore Eata episcopatum perceperit, et beati Cuthberti conversio facta sit; et quanta spirituali perfectione vitæ suæ profectum instituerit.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCLXIIII., ex quo autem sedes episcopatus in insula Lindisfarnensi et monachorum habitatio a studiosissimis Christi culto-

A.D. 664. Eata abbot of Melrose, being made abbot of Lindisfarne,

[library stamp, partly legible]

A.D. 664. ibus, rege Oswaldo et pontifice Aidano institutæ sunt Lib. I.
anno tricesimo, quo Scotti domum redeuntes ipsam ecclesiam reliquerant, abbas Eata, ut dictum est, cura Bed. iv. 27.
ipsius ecclesiæ sive monasterii suscepta, beatum Cuthbertum, cum in Mailrosensi monasterio in monachicæ vitæ perfectione jam quartum decimum ageret annum illo transtulit, ... ut ibi quoque fratribus custodiam disciplinæ regularis, et auctoritate præpositi intimaret, et exemplo virtutis præmonstraret. Cur autem idem locus et supra sub episcoporum et nunc sub abbatis regimine fuerit, vel cur ad ipsius ecclesiæ curam de monachica, ut supradictum est, magis quam de clericali professione consuetudo fuerit episcopos eligendi, in præfato libro quem de vita et virtutibus ipsius patris Cuthberti componit, venerabilis presbyter et monachus Beda commemorat. His enim verbis inter alia loquitur; Neque aliquis, inquit, miretur quod Vit. S. Cuthb. 16.
in eadem insula Lindisfarnea, cum permodica sit, et supra episcopi, et nunc abbatis et monachorum esse locum diximus; revera enim ita est. Namque una eademque servorum Dei habitatio utrosque simul tenet, imo omnes monachos tenet. Aidanus quippe, qui primus ejusdem loci episcopus fuit, monachus erat, et monachicam cum suis omnibus vitam semper agere solebat. Unde ab illo omnes loci ipsius antistites usque hodie sic episcopale exercent officium, ut regente monasterium abbate quem ipsi cum consilio fratrum elegerint, omnes presbyteri, diacones, cantores, lectores, cæterique gradus ecclesiastici monachicam per omnia cum ipso episcopo regulam servent. Sed de hoc satis dictum. Vir Domini autem Cuthbertus ad Lin- Vit. S. Cuth. ib.
disfarnensem ecclesiam sive monasterium adveniens, mox instituta monachica fratribus vivendo pariter et docendo tradebat, sed et morantem circumquaque vulgi multitudinem, more suo, crebra visitatione ad cœlestia quærenda ac promerenda succendebat. Nec non etiam signis clarior effectus, plurimos variis languoribus et tormentis comprehensos orationum instantia priscæ sanitati restituit, nonnullos ab immundorum spirituum vexatione non solum præsens, orando, tangendo, imperando, exorcizando, sed et absens vel tantum

Sends to Melrose for Cuthbert.

Peculiar customs of the church of Lindisfarne.

Cuthbert's zeal and activity.

He works miracles.

ib. I. orando, vel certe eorum sanationem prædicendo curavit . . A.D. 664.
. . . .

Erant . . . . . . quidam in monasterio fratres qui priscæ suæ consuetudini quam regulari mallent obtemperare custodiæ. Quos tamen ille modesta patientiæ suæ virtute superabat, et quotidiano exercitio paulatim ad melioris præpositi statum convertebat. . . . . Erat namque patientiæ virtute præcipuus, atque ad perferenda fortiter omnia quæ vel animo vel corpori adversa ingerebantur invictissimus, nec minus inter tristia quæ contigissent faciem prætendens hilarem, ut palem daretur intelligi quia interna Spiritus sancti consolatione pressuras contemneret extrinsecas. His et hujusmodi spiritualibus exercitiis vir venerabilis et bonorum quorumque ad se imitandum provocabat affectum, et improbos quosque ac rebelles vitæ regulari a pertinacia sua revocabat erroris. Legant qui scire volunt ipsius vitam, et in uno sancti Spiritus vasculo omnium virtutum considerent exuberare gratiam. Discant tanti viri auctoritate et subjecti et prælati ordinis observantiam, doctrinæ ac pietatis excellentiam, mansuetudinis atque severitatis temperantiam. Discant, inquam, ejus exemplo, discant qui ei nunc deserviunt monachi, sibi præpositis humilitatem exhibere, obedientiam, dilectionem, reverentiam, et omnem ex cordis puritate subjectionem. Discant ejus magisterio qui illius in prioratu successores sunt, contradicentium injurias modesta virtute patientiæ superare; discant et justitiæ zelo fervere ad arguendum peccantes, et spiritu mansuetudinis modestos esse ad ignoscendum pœnitentibus. Ipse enim nonnunquam, confitentibus sibi peccata sua his qui deliquerant, prior miserans infirmos lachrimas fudit, et quid peccatori esset agendum, ipse justus suo præmonstravit exemplo. Nullus ab eo sine gaudio consolationis abibat, nullum dolor animi quem ad illum attulerat redeuntem comitatus est.

His singular patience.

Weight of his authority, and force of his example.

His tenderness as a confessor.

CAP. VII.

Quando beatus Cuthbertus Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ prioratum acceperit, et qua dulcedine in anachoresi vixerit.

Anno incarnationis Dominicæ DCLXXVI., qui est

For the sake of greater

A.D. 676. solitude Cuthbert goes to live on Farne island,

annus imperii regis Egfridi sextus, cum vir Domini Lib. I. Cuthbertus in Lindisfarnensis monasterii prioratu duodecimum et eo amplius annum transegisset, tandem, comitante præfati abbatis sui simul et fratrum gratia, anachoreticæ quoque contemplationis secreta silentia petiit, Bed. iv. 28 ibi sicut ubique contendens ut ex bono melior, ex meliore fieret optimus. Ibi quanto ab strepitu mundanæ sollicitudinis liberior, tanto Deo vicinior. O pater dulcissime, sanctissime, reverentissime, sedebas cum Maria secus pedes Domini, optimam partem eligens, quæ a te non auferetur in æternum. Ibi sitiens anima tua ad Deum fontem vivum concupivit et defecit in atria Domini, ibi cor tuum et caro tua exulta- Ps. lxxxiii. 1. verunt in Deum vivum, ibi gustasti et vidisti quam suavis est Dominus; beatus es quoniam sperasti in eo. Qua ibi meditatione, quo amoris suspirio, quanto studio, quanta compunctione, quantis lachrymarum effusionibus cogitasti, optasti, requisisti, petisti, et cum propheta conclamasti, "Domine, dilexi decorem domus "tuæ, et locum habitationis gloriæ tuæ." Postpositis namque aliis omnibus, tota vita tua hoc solum clamabat, "Unam petii a Domino, hanc requiram, ut inhabitem "in domo Domini omnibus diebus vitæ meæ." Ecce jam beatus cum beatis habitas in domo Domini, in secula seculorum laudabis illum. Ubi vero talia vir Domini promeruerat, est insula Farne, quæ hinc altissimo, inde infinito clauditur oceano, tunc aquæ prorsus Bed. iv. 28. inops, frugis quoque et arboris, malignorum etiam spirituum frequentia, humanæ habitationi minus accommoda. Verum illo quoque virum Dei comitante miraculorum gloria, de rupe saxosa precibus fontem elicuit, de tellure durissima segetem produxit, hoste antiquo cum satellitum turba fugato locum ipsum habitabilem fecit. Postquam enim inhabitator sancti Spiritus suam ibidem inhabitationem instituit, in tantum spiritus nequam deinceps ipsam insulam exhorruit, ut qui eam Christo famulaturus ingreditur, nullas ex phantasiis dæmonum inquietudines sustinere dicatur.

which becomes habitable and fertile.

Lib. I.

Cap. VIII.

Quo tempore sanctus Beda natus sit, et de monasterio illius, et quanta scientia tunc in Anglia claruerit.

Hujus sanctissimi patris solitariæ vitæ anno secundo, qui est incarnationis DCLXXVII., imperii vero regis Egfridi septimus, ex quo vero Theodorus archiepiscopus Britanniam venerat, nonus, Beda natus est in provincia Northanhymbrorum, in territorio monasterii apostolorum Petri et Pauli quod est ad Wiramutha et in Girvum. In quod monasterium cura propinquorum, cum esset septem annorum, datus est educandus reverentissimo abbati Benedicto, ac deinde Ceolfrido, anno scilicet decimo postquam idem monasterium sancti Petri Apostoli fundatum est, ex quo autem sancti Pauli monasterium fuerat inceptum anno tertio. Quæ utraque monasteria tanta pace et concordia, et eadem familiaritate et fraterna societate fuerant conjuncta, ut, sicut ipse Beda postea describit, pro uno in duobus locis posito haberentur monasterio. Unde ipse in historia Anglorum unius mentionem faciens, monasterium, inquit, Petri et Pauli quod est ad ostium Wiri amnis et juxta amnem Tina in loco qui vocatur In Girvum. Hic itaque infantulus bonæ spei et divina et seculari litteratura diligenter imbuitur, quandoque Spiritus sancti organum futurus, quo ejus præcordia irradiante in sanctæ universalis ecclesiæ munimentum, plurimos in Novi et Veteris Testamenti expositionem libros erat compositurus. Et cum in Latina erudiretur lingua, Græcæ quoque peritiam non mediocriter percepit. Quippe per id temporis in monasterio præfato deditus erat studio, quando Theodorus archiepiscopus et Adrianus abbas, qui literis sacris simul et secularibus abundanter ambo erant instructi, peragrata tota Britannia, congregantes

A.D. 677.

The birth of Beda.

Bed. v. 21.

His education at Jarrow.

Sacred and profane learning had been

[a] For the dates of the foundations of Wearmouth and Jarrow, comp. Beda, *Hist. Abbatum*, §§ 4 and 6.

recently brought in by archbishop Theodore. discipulorum catervam, scientiæ salutaris quotidie flumina irrigandis eorum cordibus emanabant; ita ut etiam metricæ artis, astronomiæ, et arithmeticæ ecclesiasticæ disciplinam inter sacrorum apicum volumina suis auditoribus contraderent. Sic enim de his Beda ipse loquitur; deinde et istud subjungit: "Indicio est" inquit, "quod usque hodie supersunt de eorum discipulis "qui Latinam Græcamque linguam æque ut patriam in "qua nati sunt norunt." Transeunte autem ad cœlestia patre Cuthberto, ille vitæ ipsius egregius quandoque scriptor futurus Beda, ætatis jam tunc undecim, studii vero in monasterio quatuor habebat annos. Verum de illo latius in sequentibus dicemus, nunc ad ea unde digressi sumus narrando redeamus.

Lib. I. Bed. iv. 21. A.D. 687.

Cap. IX.

De electione sancti Cuthberti, et quomodo de Farne eductus sit, et ubi consecratus, et quæ rex ei Egfridus eo die dederit.

A.D. 678. Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCLXXVIII., qui est annus imperii regis Egfridi octavus, Wilfridus, qui totius Northanhymbrorum provinciæ pontificatum non parvo tempore administraverat, orta inter ipsum et præfatum regem dissensione, ab episcopatu pulsus est, et duo in locum ejus episcopi ordinati sunt Eboraci ab archiepiscopo Theodoro, qui Northanhymbrorum genti præessent, Bosa videlicet, qui Deirorum, et sæpe memoratus abbas Eata, qui Berniciorum provinciam gubernaret: hic in civitate Eboraci, ille in Hagustaldensi et Lindisfarnensi ecclesia cathedram habens episcopalem, ambo de monachorum collegio in episcopatus gradum asciti. Igitur Eata, cum quatuordecim annis ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensi abbatis jure præfuisset, duarum ecclesiarum suscepit præsulatum, tertio anno ex quo pater Cuthbertus anachoreticæ sedis adierat solitudinem. Post tres autem annos abscessionis Wilfridi, Theodorus

St. Wilfrid being driven from his see, Bed. iv. 12.

Bosa is appointed to York, and Eata to Lindisfarne.

Bed. iv. 12. ordinavit Tunbertum ad Hagustaldensem ecclesiam, Eata ad Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ præsulatum per quatuor annos remanente. A.D. 681.

Bed. iv. 28. Quadriennio vero exacto, contigit ut congregata synodo non parva sub præsentia pissimi ac Deo dilecti regis Egfridi juxta fluvium Alnæ in loco qui dicitur Æt Twiforda, quod significat, ad duplex vadum, cui beatæ memoriæ Theodorus archiepiscopus præsidebat, unanimo omnium consensu ad episcopatum ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensis beatus pater Cuthbertus eligeretur. Qui cum multis legatariis ac literis ad se præmissis nequaquam suo loco posset erui, tandem rex ipse præfatus, una cum sanctissimo antistite Trumwino, nec non et aliis religiosis ac potentibus viris insulam navigavit. Conveniunt et de ipsa insula Lindisfarnensi in hoc ipsum multi de fratribus, genu flectunt omnes, adjurant per Dominum, lachrymas fundunt, obsecrant, donec ipsum quoque lachrymis plenum dulcibus extrahunt latebris, atque ad synodum pertrahunt. Quo dum perveniret, quamvis multum renitens unanima cunctorum voluntate superatur, atque ad suscipiendum episcopatus officium collum submittere compellitur, eo maxime victus sermone, quo famulus Domini Boisilus, cum ei mente prophetica cuncta quæ eum essent superventura patefecit, antistitem . . . . eum futurum prædixerat. Nec . . . . statim ordinatio ejus decreta, sed peracta hyeme quæ imminebat . . . . completa est. Cum ergo per novem annos in solitaria vita soli Deo vacasset, in pontificatus honorem auctore Deo levatur, consecratus Eboraci vii. kal. Aprilis, in ipso die sancto Paschæ, sub præsentia regis Egfridi, convenientibus ad consecrationem ejus septem episcopis, in quibus beatæ memoriæ Theodorus ordinator ejus primatum tenebat, anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DC. LXXXV., regni Egfridi XII. Electus est autem primo in episcopatum Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ pro Tunberto, qui ab episcopatu fuerat depositus; sed quoniam plus Lindisfarnensi ecclesiæ, in qua conversatus fuerat, dilexit præfici, placuit ut Eata reverso ad sedem ecclesiæ Hagustaldensis, cui regendæ primo fuerat ordinatus, Cuthbertus ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensis gubernacula susciperet. Cui rex præfatus et Theodorus in civitate Eboraca dederunt totam terram a muro ecclesiæ Sancti Petri usque magnam portam versus occidentem, et a muro ipsius ecclesiæ usque murum civitatis versus

Cuthbert is chosen to be bishop of Lindisfarne. A.D. 685.

Lands are given to him.

A.D. 685. austrum. Villam quoque Crecam et tria in circuitu ipsius villæ milliaria ei dederunt, ut haberet Eboracum iens, vel inde rediens, mansionem ubi requiescere posset. Ubi monachorum habitationem instituit; et quia illa terra minus sufficiens erat, Lugubaliam, quæ Luel vocatur, in circuitu quindecim milliaria habentem, in augmentum suscepit. Ubi etiam sanctimonialium congregatione stabilita, reginam dato habitu religionis consecravit,[a] et in profectum divinæ servitutis scholas instituit. Aliæ quoque terrarum possessiones ei donatæ sunt, quas hic longum est, et non necessarium ponere, scriptæ sunt enim in cartulis ecclesiæ. At rex Egfridus, anno quo fecerat hunc venerabilem patrem ordinari episcopum, cum maxima parte copiarum quas ad devastandam terram Pictorum secum duxerat, secundum prophetiam ejusdem patris Cuthberti extinctus est apud Nechtanesmere,[b] quod est stagnum Nechtani, die xiii. kal. Juniarum, anno regni sui xv.; cujus corpus in Hii, insula Columbæ, sepultum est.

Lib. I.

He founds a nunnery at Carlisle.

The queen becomes a nun.

Bed. iv. 26.

Defeat and death of Egfrid.

Cap X.

Qualiter in episcopatu sanctus Cuthbertus vixerit, et quomodo de mundo emigraverit et se ad Lindisfarnensem ecclesiam reduci permiserit.

Venerabilis autem Cuthbertus susceptum episcopatus gradum ad imitationem beatorum Apostolorum virtutum ornabat operibus. Commissam namque sibi plebem, et orationibus assiduis protegebat, et admonitionibus saluberrimis ad cœlestia vocabat; et, quod maxime doctores juvat, ea quæ agenda docebat, ipse prius agendo præmonstravit. Ut enim patri spirituali quondam subjectus exemplum subjectis dederat humilitatis et obedientiæ, præpositus quoque monasteriorum præpositis formam in se magisterii expresserat, sic episcopus etiam epi-

Cuthbert as bishop.

Bed. iv. 28.

[a] Queen Etheldrida became a nun afterwards at Ely, not at Carlisle. She was however at Carlisle in 685 in her sister's monastery, waiting for news from the war. *Vita S. Cuthb.* 27.

[b] Dunnichen hill, near Forfar, and the valley and lake to the north of it, are supposed to have been the scene of this battle.

ib. I. scopis imitandam vitæ pontificalis normam reliquit. A.D. 685. Quapropter qui ei in culmen honoris succedit, vitam quoque imitari studeat, ut dignus successor tanti prædecessoris placita Deo conversatione vices digne peragat. Sollicitus hinc illius vitam consideret, illinc suam; consideret, inquam, ne peccatis oneratus occupet cathedram quam ille universarum effulgens decore virtutum effecerat gloriosam. Namque, ut in illius laudem Deo gratias agens ecclesia canit, castitate angelica, dignitate prophetica, virtute apostolica, omniumque justorum sanctitate insignis enituit. Erat quippe ante omnia divinæ charitatis igne fervidus, patientiæ virtute modestus, orationum devotioni solertissime intentus, affabilis omnibus qui ad se consolationis gratia veniebant, hoc ipsum quoque orationis loco ducens, si infirmis fratribus opem suæ exhortationis tribueret, sciens quia qui dixit, "Diliges Dominum Deum tuum," dixit, "et diliges proximum tuum." Erat abstinentiæ castigatione insignis, erat gratia compunctionis semper ad cœlestia suspensus. Denique cum sacrificium Deo victimæ salutaris offerret, non elata in altum voce, sed profusis ex imo pectore lachrymis, Domino suo vota commendabat.

Duobus autem annis in episcopatu peractis, repetiit insulam ac monasterium suum; mox peracto die solemni Nativitatis Dominicæ, divino admonitus oraculo, quia dies sibi mortis, vel vitæ magis illius quæ sola vita dicenda est, jam appropiaret introitus. Qui cum duos ferme menses in magna repetitæ suæ quietis exultatione transigeret, ... correptus infirmitate subita, temporalis igne doloris, ad perpetuæ cœpit beatitudinis gaudia præparari. . . . . Tribus enim hebdomadibus continuis infirmitate decoctus, sic ad extrema pervenit. Siquidem quarta feria cœpit ægrotare, et rursus quarta, finita ægritudine, migravit ad Dominum. Qui infirmatus hæc per Erefridum, devotæ religionis presbyterum, qui tunc Lindisfarnensi monasterio abbatis jure præfuit, demandavit dicens. "Cum . . . "Deus susceperit animam meam, sepelite me in hac mansione juxta oratorium meum ad meridiem contra orientalem plagam sanctæ crucis quam ibidem erexi. Est

[Left margin: . S. / hb. 37. / l. iv. 28. / . S. / h. ib.]

[Right margin: After two years he resigns the see and returns to Farne. — His last sickness.]

A.D. 687. "autem ad aquilonalem[1] ejusdem oratorii partem sarcophagum terræ cespite abditum, quod olim mihi Cudda venerabilis abbas donavit. In hoc corpus meum reponite, involventes in syndone quam invenietis istic. Nolui quidem ea vivens indui,[2] sed pro amore dilectæ Deo fœminæ quæ hanc . . . misit, Vercæ videlicet abbatissæ, ad obvolvendum corpus meum reservare curavi." At fratribus eum rogantibus ut ejus corpus in Lindisfarnensium ecclesia tumulandum transferre, ac secum habere sibi liceret; respondens ille, "Et meæ," inquit, "voluntatis erat hic requiescere corpore, ubi quantulumcunque pro Domino certamen certavi, ubi cursum consummare desidero, unde ad coronam justitiæ sublevandum me a pio judice spero. Sed et vobis quoque commodius esse arbitror ut hic requiescam, propter incursionem profugorum vel noxiorum quorumlibet. Qui cum ad corpus meum forte confugerint, quia, qualiscunque sum, fama tamen exivit de me quia famulus Christi sim, necesse habetis sæpius pro talibus apud potentes seculi intercedere, atque ideo de præsentia corporis mei multum tolerare laborem." At fratribus multum diuque precantibus, laboremque hujusmodi gratum sibi ac levem fore asseverantibus, tandem cum consilio locutus vir Domini, "Si meam," inquit, "dispositionem superare, et meum corpus illo reducere vultis, videtur mihi optimum ut in interioribus basilicæ vestræ illud tumuletis, quatenus et ipsi, cum vultis, meum sepulchrum visitare possitis, et in potestate sit vestra an aliqui illo de advenientibus accedant." Gratias egerunt fratres permissioni et consilio illius, flexis in terra genibus. Cui permissioni et consilio nos quoque gratias agamus, non solum flexis genibus sed et totis corporibus pariter et cordibus ei suppliciter prostratis. Nos, inquam, illi gratias referamus, quibus incorruptum corpus ejus, quadringentesimo et octavo decimo dormitionis ejus anno, quamvis indignis divina gratia videre et manibus quoque contrectare donavit.[a] Agamus, inquam, gratias, laboremque defendendi confugientes ad illius sepulchrum, dulcedine amoris ejus gratum ac levem ducamus, et omne

Lib. I.

Consults with the monks as to the place of his burial,

which, it is settled, shall be Lindisfarne.

[1] F.; *aquilonem*, D. [2] *uti*, F.

[a] See below, *Auctarium*, No. VI., ch. 7.

Lib. I. quicquid nutante seculi statu adversum ingruerit despectui habeamus, dummodo talem ac tantum sacri corporis thesaurum in medio nostri nos habere gaudeamus. A.D. 687.

a S. th. 38, 39. Cum vero increscente languore videret tempus suæ resolutionis instare, hunc hæreditarium sermonem, hoc ultimum vale fratribus reliquit, disserens pauca sed fortia de pace et humilitate, cavendisque eis qui his obluctari quam oblectari mallent. "Pacem," inquit, "inter vos semper, et charitatem custodite divinam, et cum de vestro statu consilium vos agere necessitas poposcerit, videte attentius ut unanimes existatis in consiliis." Et cætera quæ in vita illius leguntur, ad fidei charitatisque custodiam, ad vitæ regularis observantiam salubria monita. At ubi consuetum nocturnæ orationis tempus aderat, acceptis . . . . . sacramentis salutaribus exitum suum . . . . munivit, atque elevatis ad cœlum oculis, extensisque in altum manibus, intentam supernis laudibus animam, ad gaudia regni cœlestis emisit, biennio in episcopatu suo exacto, anno DCLXXXVII. Dominicæ incarnationis, ex quo autem rex Oswaldus et Aidanus pontificalem sedem et monachorum habitationem in sæpe dicta insula instituerant quinquagesimo tertio, ex eo vero quo monachicum in Mailros habitum sumpserat xxxvii. anno, quamvis ab ipso pueritiæ suæ tempore monachus mente semper et actu vixerit. Impositum autem navi venerabile corpus patris, ad insulam Lindisfarnensium fratres retulerunt. Quod magno occurrentium agmine chorisque canentium susceptum est, atque in ecclesia beati Petri Apostoli ad dexteram altaris petrino in sarcophago repositum. . . . .

His last injunctions.

His death.

A.D. 687.

a S. th. 40.

He is buried on Holy Isle.

Sepulto autem viro Dei tanta ecclesiam illam temptationis [a]

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[a] *temptationis aura.* It was conjectured by Mabillon, and probably with reason, that the trials thus mysteriously hinted at, which the monks of Lindisfarne had to sustain during the year (687–8) in which Wilfrid was in authority there, were connected with some attempt on his part to substitute the rule of St. Benedict for that which their founder St. Aidan had brought with him from Iona, and under which they had lived over fifty years. There is nothing in the contemporary life of St. Wilfrid by Eddi Stephanus which throws any light on the matter.

A.D. 687. St. Wilfrid administers the see *ad interim.*

Lib. I. Bed. iv. 29.

aura concussit, ut plures e fratribus loco magis cedere quam talibus vellent interesse periculis, episcopatum ecclesiæ illius anno ipso servante venerabili antistite Wilfrido, donec eligeretur qui pro Cuthberto antistes ordinari deberet. Ordinatus est autem post annum Eadbertus in episcopatum, vir scientia scripturarum divinarum, simul et præceptorum cœlestium observantia, ac maxime eleemosinarum operatione insignis, ita ut juxta legem omnibus annis decimam non solum quadrupedum, verum etiam frugum omnium atque pomorum, nec non et vestimentorum partem pauperibus daret. Eo itaque in pontificatum sublimato, præfatæ temptationis tempestate sedata, ut scriptura loquitur, ædificavit Hierusalem, id est, visionem pacis, Dominus, et dispersiones Israelis congregavit, qui sanat contritos corde et alligat contritiones eorum.

Eadbert appointed bishop.

Ps. 147.

Cap. XI.

Quomodo post undecim sepulturæ annos corpus ejus incorruptum repertum sit, et de Eadberto episcopo et Ethelwoldo, qui uterque ei in anachoresi successit, et qua ætate Beda ejus vitam scripserit.

A.D. 698. The body of St. Cuthbert found incorrupt.

Bed. iv. 30. Vit. S. Cuthb. 42.

Transactis autem sepulturæ ipsius annis undecim . . . . aperientes sepulchrum ejus fratres, invenerunt corpus ejus totum quasi adhuc viveret integrum, et flexibilibus artuum compagibus multo dormienti quam mortuo similius. Sed et vestimenta omnia quibus indutum erat non solum intemerata, verum etiam prisca novitate et claritate miranda parebant. Quod ubi viderunt fratres, nimio mox timore et tremore sunt perculsi, adeo ut vix aliquid loqui, vix intueri auderent miraculum quod apparebat, vix ipsi quid agerent nossent. Extremam autem indumentorum ejus partem pro ostendendo incorruptionis signo tollentes, nam quæ carni illius proxima aderant prorsus tangere timebant, festinarunt referre antistiti quod invenerant . . . . Quæ cum ille et munera gratanter acciperet, et miracula libenter audiret; nam et ipsa indumenta, quasi patris adhuc corpori circumdata, miro deosculabatur affectu, "Nova," inquit, "indumenta corpori pro his quæ tulistis "circumdate, et sic reponite in thecam quam parastis. Scio "autem certissime, quia non diu vacuus remanebit locus, qui "tanta cœlestis miraculi virtute consecratus est, et quam

Lib. I. Bed. iv. 30. "beatus est . . . ., cui in eo facultatem quiescendi "Dominus totius beatitudinis auctor atque largitor præstare "dignabitur." [a] Hæc et hujusmodi plura ubi multis cum lachrymis et magna compunctione antistes, lingua etiam tremente complevit, fecerunt fratres, ut jusserat, et involutum novo amictu corpus, novaque in theca reconditum, supra pavimentum sanctuarii dignæ venerationis gratia posuerunt. Tulerunt autem fratres partem de capillis ejus, quam more reliquiarum rogantibus amicis dare vel ostendere in signum miraculi possent. Nec mora, Deo dilectus antistes Eadbertus morbo correptus est acerbo, ac per dies crescente ardore languoris, non multo post, id est, pridie nonas Maias, etiam ipse migravit ad Dominum, impetrato ab eo munere quod diligentissime petierat, videlicet ut non repentina morte sed longa excoctus ægritudine migraret e corpore. Cujus corpus in sepulchro beati patris Cuthberti ponentes, apposuerunt desuper arcam in qua incorrupta ejusdem patris membra locaverant.

A.D. 698.

Relics.

Death of bishop Eadbert.

Vita S. Cuth. 43.

Hujus vero, scilicet beati Cuthberti, gloriosissimæ conversationis exordium, progressum, terminum, sicut ab his qui cum eo conversati fuerant fratribus indubiis testibus didicerat, puro ac simplici sermone Beda explicat, gratia Dei hoc providente ut angelicam vitam quam in extremis mundi partibus vir tantus duxerat, vir tantæ in ecclesia quaque diffusæ auctoritatis scribendo propalaret. Unde convenienter ordinante Deo actum est, ut ossa ipsius defuncti cum corpore ejusdem patris quandoque requiescerent, cujus corporis pios pro Christo labores, et incorruptionem post undecim sepulturæ annos, secuturis temporibus manifestando descripserat. Post obitum vero patris Cuthberti, Wilfridus, ut supra dictum est, uno anno ecclesiæ illius episcopatum tenuit. Jam enim, Alfrido rege invitante, qui post fratrem Egfridum regnavit, sedem et episcopatum receperat. Deinde Eadbertus per decem annos, post quem Eadfridus per xxii., duo

Beda the fit biographer of St. Cuthbert.

Wilfrid bishop one year.

Election of Eadfrid.

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[a] The wording of the passage *et quam . . . dignabitur* is taken from the Eccl. Hist., and differs slightly from that of the parallel passage in the Life of the Saint.

A.D. 703. sancti ac digni præsules, ecclesiæ præfuerunt. Cujus Eadfridi tempore Beda tricesimo ætatis suæ anno, gradu presbyteratus accepto, libros suos incepit facere: in quibus faciendis per viginti novem annos, id est, ad finem vitæ in lege Domini meditans die ac nocte indesinenter laboravit. Fecit inter alia et sæpe dictum librum vitæ patris Cuthberti ad præfatum episcopum, ita scribens, "Domino sancto ac beatissimo patri "Eadfrido episcopo, sed et omni congregationi fratrum qui "in Lindisfarnensi insula Christo deserviunt, Beda fidelis "vester conservus salutem. Quia jussistis, dilectissimi, ut "libro quem de vita beatæ memoriæ patris nostri Cuthberti "vestro rogatu composui, præfationem aliquam juxta morem "præfigerem:" et cætera, quæ in proemio ejusdem opusculi ipse prosequitur. Ejus vero ostensa in alios beneficia prædicaturus ipse primum in se per curationem linguæ, dum ejus miracula caneret, est expertus, sicut in præfatione libelli quem de vita ipsius metro composuit ad Johannem presbyterum ipsemet affirmat.[a]

Lib. 1. Ps. 1, 2. Vita S. Cuth. Præf.

Bishop Eadfrid. Prædictus itaque reverentissimus pontifex Eadfridus, multum fervens amore sui prædecessoris beati Cuthberti, oratorium in suæ anachoreticæ conversationis insula longa jam vetustate dissolutum a fundamentis restauravit, Felgildo tunc ibidem in vita solitaria post Ethelwoldum conversante. Qui videlicet Ethelwoldus, cum jam multis annis in monasterio quod dicitur In Hripum acceptum presbyteratus officium condignis gradu condecorasset actibus . . . . . . successit viro Domini Cuthberto in exercenda vita solitaria in insula Farne, mansitque ibidem duodecim annis, ubi et defunctus est; sed in insula Lindisfarnensium juxta præfatorum episcoporum corpora in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli sepultus est.

Vita S. Cuth. 46. Bed. v 1. The anchorites Felgild and Ethelwold. A.D. 699.

[a] In the preface to his metrical life of St. Cuthbert, addressed to John the Presbyter, Beda, speaking of miracles worked by the intercession of St. Cuthbert, says,—"quotidie . . . . . et nova "[miracula] per reliquias ejus "aguntur, et vetera noviter ab his, "qui scire poterant, indicantur. "Ex quibus unum est quod in me "ipso, sicut jam tibi dixi, per "linguæ curationem, dum miracula "ejus canerem, expertus sum."

Cap. XII.

Lib. I.

De Ethelwoldo episcopo, et cruce lapidea quam fecit.

Defuncto Eadfrido episcopo, religiosæ ac modestæ vitæ abbas et presbyter monasterii Mailrosensis Ethelwoldus successit in episcopatum, prædecessorum suorum cathedram per sedecim [a] annos et ipse condignis honore actibus servans. Hic plane antequam monasterium præfatum jure abbatis regeret, beati patris Cuthberti, ut in ejus vita legitur, dignus minister extiterat. Fecerat iste de lapide crucem artifici opere expoliri, et in sui memoriam suum in eo nomen exarari. Cujus summitatem multo post tempore, dum ipsam ecclesiam Lindisfarnensem pagani devastarent, fregerunt, sed post artificis ingenio reliquæ parti infuso plumbo, ipsa fractura est adjuncta; semperque deinceps cum corpore sancti Cuthberti crux ipsa circumferri solebat, et a populo Northanhymbrorum propter utrumque sanctum in honore haberi: quæ etiam usque hodie in hujus, id est, Dunelmensis ecclesiæ cœmiterio stans sublimis, utrorumque pontificum intuentibus exhibet monumentum.

A.D. 721. Bishop Ethelwold.

Vita S. Cuth.

His stone cross is now at Durham.

Cap. XIII.

De Ceolwulfi regis prosapia, et vita ejus, et patientia.

Anno Dominicæ incarnationis DCCXXIX., pontificatus vero Ethelwoldi quinto, Osricus rex Northanhymbrorum filius Alfridi regis vita decessit, cum ipse regni, quod

A.D. 729. The descent of Ceolwulf, king of Northumbria,

[a] *sedecim.* The episcopate of Ethelwold cannot have lasted less than eighteen years. He was elected in 721, and died in 739, according to Florence, or in 740 according to the Auctarium Bedæ, and the Hist. Reg. of Symeon.

undecim annis gubernabat, successorem pro se Ceolwulfum decrevisset, fratrem illius qui ante se regnaverat Coenredi regis. Qui videlicet Coelwulfus de stirpe quidem Idæ primi regis Northanhymbrorum fuerat, sed non de filio ejus Ethelrico rege, de quo gloriosissimi reges Oswaldus et Oswiu descenderant, genealogiam duxit, sed de fratre ipsius Ethelrici nomine Ocga originem traxisse invenitur. Fuerat quippe Ceolwulfus filius Cuthæ, cujus pater Cuthwine, cujus pater Liodwald, cujus pater Ecgwald, cujus pater Aldhelm, cujus pater Ocga, cujus pater Ida rex. Duodecim namque filios habuit Ida,[a] ex quibus reges Northanhymbrorum exorti sunt; Addas, Ethelricum, Theodericum, Edricum, Theudheri, Osmer, Alricum, Eccam, Osbaldum, Scor, Sceotheri, Ocga, ex cujus propagine fratres, ambo reges, Coenred scilicet et Ceolwulf processerunt. Cujus Ceolvulfi regni principia et processus multis redundavere rerum adversantium motibus; sed post, arridente pace ac serenitate temporum, plures in gente Northanhymbrorum, tam nobiles quam privati, se suosque liberos depositis armis sategerunt magis accepta tonsura monasterialibus ascribere votis, quam bellicis exerceri studiis, quod etiam ipse rex, ut post dicemus, facere curavit. Qui quoniam studiis liberalibus erat imbutus, ejus diligentiam legendi et audiendi scripturas sacras, et gesta priorum, Beda laudibus commendans, historiam gentis Anglorum quam fecerat ei dicavit, ad eum ita scribens, " Gloriosissimo regi Ceolwulfo, Beda famulus Christi

Lib. I.

Chr. Æ. a. 731.

Bed. V. 23.

to whom Beda dedicated his Ecclesiastical History.

[a] It was part of the tradition (doubtless known to Beda though he does not mention it; see H. E. v. 24) concerning the kings of Northumbria, that Ida had *twelve* sons, and that he reigned *twelve* years. Twelve was a favourite number with the Angles and Saxons; see, for instance, the remarkable story of the foundation of Glastonbury as told by Malmesbury (Gale, Scriptores XV.). The same tradition occurs, and the same names are given, in the tract "De primo Saxonum adventu," published in the (unfinished) edition of Symeon's works issued by the Surtees Society (p. 209), and also in the intercalated passages printed in the same volume (p. 218) from a Cambridge MS. See also the lists at the end of Florence, (where however the names are somewhat different,) and Nennius, § 57. The three authorities first named all say that six out of the twelve sons were legitimate and six illegitimate.

Lib. I. Bed. H. E. Præf.

"et presbyter, historiam gentis Anglorum ecclesiasticam, "quam nuper edideram, libentissime tibi desideranti, rex, et "prius ad legendum ac probandum transmisi, et nunc ad "transcribendum, ac plenius ex tempore meditandum retrans- "mitto, satisque tuæ studium sinceritatis amplector, quo non "solum audiendis scripturæ sacræ verbis aurem sedulus "accommodas, verumetiam noscendis priorum gestis sive "dictis, et maxime nostræ gentis virorum illustrium curam "vigilanter impendis:" et cætera.

Cap. XIV.

Quo ævo vel tempore sanctus Beda obierit, qualiter vixerit, et quanta scripserit.

A.D. 735. The death of Beda.

Anno autem Dominicæ incarnationis DCCXXXV., imperii autem Ceolwulfi vii., episcopatus vero Ethelwoldi anno xi., illa ecclesiæ catholicæ lucerna ad eam quæ se illuminaverat lucem, illa vena aquæ salientis in vitam æternam ad fontem vivum Deum pervenit, sacrorum scilicet librorum compositor, venerabilis presbyter et monachus Beda, defunctus anno ætatis suæ quinquagesimo nono,[a] ex quo autem rex Oswaldus et antistes Aidanus pontificalem cathedram et monachorum habitationem in Lindisfarnensi insula instituerant anno centesimo primo, a constructione vero monasterii Petri apostoli in Wiramuthe lxii., porro a patris Cuthberti transitu xlix.[1] anno. Qui videlicet Beda in extremo quidem mundi angulo vivens latuit, sed post mortem per universas mundi partes omnibus in libris suis vivens innotuit. In quibus terrarum regionumque diversarum situs, naturas, qualitates, subtiliter ac si cuncta ipse peragrasset, plerumque describit, cum ab infantia in monasterio nutritus, totam ibidem usque ad evocationis suæ diem vitam transegerit.

Ne vero quisquam aliud quam est de illo nos dicere suspicetur, ipsius de semetipso dicta congruum sub-

[1] Ita recte D. F.; lxix, Twysd.

[a] Not the fifty-ninth, but the sixty-third; Symeon confounds the year in which Beda finished his history with that of his death.

His account of himself and his writings.

Lib. I. Bed. v. 24.

jungere videtur. "Ego," inquit, "Beda famulus Christi "et presbyter monasterii beatorum apostolorum Petri et "Pauli quod est ad Wiramutha et In Gyrvum, ... "natus in territorio ejusdem monasterii, cum essem annorum "septem cura propinquorum datus sum educandus reverentissimo abbati Benedicto, ac deinde Ceolfrido; cunctumque "ex eo tempus vitæ in ejusdem monasterii habitatione per-"agens, omnem meditandis Scripturis operam dedi, atque "inter observantiam disciplinæ regularis et quotidianam can-"tandi in ecclesia curam, semper aut dicere, aut docere, "aut scribere dulce habui. Nonodecimo autem vitæ meæ "anno diaconatum, tricesimo gradum presbyteratus, utrumque "per ministerium reverentissimi episcopi Johannis, jubente "Ceolfrido abbate suscepi. Ex quo tempore suscepti pres-"byteratus usque ad annum ætatis meæ quinquagesimum "nonum, hæc in Scripturam sanctam meæ meorumque "necessitati ex opusculis venerabilium patrum breviter an-"notare, sive etiam ad formam sensus et interpretationis "eorum superadjicere curavi. In principium Genesis usque "ad nativitatem Isaac et ejectionem Ismaelis, libros tres. In "primam partem Samuelis, id est, usque ad mortem Saulis, "libros quatuor. De ædificatione templi, allegoricæ ex-"positionis sicut et cætera, libros duos. De tabernaculo, "et vasis ejus, ac vestibus sacerdotum, libros tres. Item "in Regum librum triginta questionum. In Proverbia Salo-"monis libros tres," et alios tractatus qui in historia

He was buried at Jarrow, but his bones now rest at Durham.

Anglorum attitulati sunt. Cum ergo hos libros pervigili studio edidisset, obiit vii. kal. Junii in Gyrwe, ibique sepultus est; sed post multa annorum curricula, ossa illius inde translata, et cum incorrupto sanctissimi patris Cuthberti corpore sunt collocata. In

Memorials of him at Jarrow.

cujus, videlicet Bedæ, honorem, porticus ad aquilonalem plagam ecclesiæ sancti Pauli in Gyrwe[a] consecrata, venerandam fidelibus nominis ejus ibidem præ-

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[a] St. Paul's church at Jarrow, though it has been ill-used and violently treated under colour of restoration, is still standing. The upper portion of the chancel, with the windows, is of very ancient date, perhaps coeval with Beda, whose relics lay in the north porch till they were removed to Durham. An old straight-backed oaken chair in the chancel is called "Beda's "chair"; but I should doubt its being so old.

Lib. I. stat memoriam. Ostenditur etiam locus hodie ubi de lapide mansiunculam habens, ab omni inquietudine liber sedere, meditari, legere, dictare consueverat et scribere. Transiit autem ipso die solemni Ascensionis Dominicæ. Cujus nos transitum melius verbis ipsius scribendum putamus, qui ejus discipulus, vocabulo Cuthbertus, præsens affuit, ad condiscipulum taliter scribens:—

Cap. XV.

Epistola de transitu Bedæ, et ejus conversatione.[a]

Letter of Cuthbert to Cuthwine, describing the last illness of Beda.

"Dilectissimo," inquit, "in Christo collectori[b] Cuthwino "Cuthbertus condiscipulus in Deo æternam salutem. Munus-"culum quod misisti multum libenter accepi, multumque "gratanter literas tuæ devotæ eruditionis legi. In qui-"bus quod maxime desiderabam, missas videlicet et orationes "sacrosanctas, pro Deo dilecto patre ac nostro magistro "Beda, a vobis diligenter celebrari reperi. Unde delectat "magis pro ejus charitate, quantum fruor ingenio, paucis "sermonibus dicere, quo ordine migraret e seculo, cum "etiam hoc te desiderasse et poposcere[1] intellexi. Gra-"vatus quidem est infirmitate maxima creberrimi anhe-"litus, sine dolore tamen, ante diem Resurrectionis Domi-"nicæ, id est, fere duabus ebdomadibus, et sic postea "lætus et gaudens gratiasque agens omnipotenti Deo omni

[1] Ita F., et D. ab initio, sed *po* postea deletum est.

[a] I have collated Symeon's version of this celebrated letter with that given by Mr. Stevenson in his edition of Beda's Historical Works (English Historical Society), and founded upon several good MSS., particularly on one of the ninth century now at Saint Gall. The letter occurs also at the end of a beautiful thirteenth-century MS. of the Ecclesiastical History (Digby 211) in the Bodleian Library.

[b] The earliest meaning of "col-"lector," given by Ducange is, a person appointed by the pope to go about to different countries, claiming lands or goods unjustly taken from the Church. In the 13th century it meant a collector of subscriptions merely. Probably in this place it only means "fellow-"lector," that being the grade in minor orders which both Cuthbert and his correspondent had attained.

Lib. I.

" die et nocte, imo horis omnibus usque ad diem Ascensi-
" onis Dominicæ, id est, septima kal. Junii vitam ducebat,
" et nobis suis discipulis quotidie lectiones dabat, et quic-
" quid reliquum erat diei in psalmorum decantatione oc-
" cupabat, totam quoque noctem in lætitia et gratiarum
" actione pervigil ducebat, nisi tantum[1] modicus somnus
" impediret. Evigilans autem statim consueta repetivit, et
" expansis manibus Deo gratias agere non desinit.[2] O vere
" beatus vir! Canebat sententiam beati Pauli apostoli,
" 'Horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis.' Et
" multa alia de sancta Scriptura[3] et in nostra lingua, hoc
" est Anglica, ut erat doctus in nostris carminibus, nonnulla
" dixit. Nam et tunc Anglico carmine componens,
" multum compunctus aiebat.

Beda's English verses.

" 'Foꝛ þam neoðꝼeꝛe nenıᵹ ꝩẏꝛþeð
" 'þanceꞅ ꞅnoꞇꞇꝛa þonne hım þeaꝛꝼ ꞅẏ,
" 'ꞇo ᵹehıᵹᵹenne[4] æꝛ hıꞅ heonen ᵹanᵹe,
" 'hꝩeꞇ hıꞅ ᵹaꞅꞇe, ᵹoðeꞅ oððe ẏueleꞅ,
" 'æꝼꞇeꝛ ðeaðe[5] heonen[6] ðemeð ꝩuꝛðe.'

" Quod itá Latine sonat; 'Ante necessarium exitum pru-
" 'dentior quam opus fuerit nemo existit ad cogitandum;
" 'videlicet antequam hinc proficiscatur anima, quid boni
" 'vel mali egerit, qualiter post exitum judicanda fuerit.'
" Cantabat etiam antiphonas secundum nostram consuetu-
" dinem[7] et sui, quarum una est: 'O Rex gloriæ, Domine
" 'virtutum, qui triumphator hodie super omnes cœlos
" 'ascendisti, ne derelinquas nos orphanos, sed mitte promis-
" 'sum Patris in nos Spiritum veritatis, Alleluiah.' Et
" cum venisset ad illud verbum, 'ne derelinquas nos orpha-
" nos,' prorupit in lachrimas, et multum flevit, et post
" horam cœpit repetere quæ inchoaverat. Et nos hæc
" audientes luximus cum illo. Altera vice legimus, altera
" ploravimus, imo semper cum fletu legimus. In tali lætitia

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[1] Ita D.; *quantum*, ed. Stev.

[2] Ita D.; *desivit*, ed. Stev.

[3] post *Scriptura*, "in quibus nos "a somno animæ exsurgere præ-"cogitando ultimam horam ad-"monebat," ed. Stev.

[4] D.L.; *gehiggene*, F.

[5] D.L.; *deaþe*, F.

[6] *daege*, ed. Stev.

[7] *ob nostram consolationem*, ed. Stev.

Lib. I. "quinquagesimales dies usque ad diem præfatum deduximus, "et ille multum gaudebat Deoque gratias agebat quia sic "meruisset infirmari. Referebat et sæpe dicebat, 'Flagellat "'Deus omnem filium quem recipit,' et multa alia de sancta "Scriptura; sententiam quoque sancti Ambrosii; 'Non sic "'vixi ut me pudeat inter vos vivere, sed nec mori timeo, "'quia bonum Deum habemus.'

"In istis autem diebus duo opuscula multum memoria "digna, exceptis lectionibus quas accepimus ab eo, et cantu "psalmorum, facere studebat; Evangelium scilicet sancti "Johannis in nostram linguam ad utilitatem ecclesiæ con- "vertit; et de libris rotarum [a] Ysidori episcopi excerptiones "quasdam, dicens, 'Nolo ut discipuli [1] mei mendacium "'legant, et in hoc post obitum meum sine fructu laborent.' "Cum venisset autem tertia feria ante Ascensionem Domini, "cœpit vehementius ægrotare in anhelitu, et modicus tumor "in pedibus apparuit. Totum autem illum diem ducebat,[2] "et hilariter dictabat, et nonnunquam inter alia dixit, "'Discite cum festinatione; nescio quamdiu subsistam, et "'si post modicum tollat me Factor meus.' Nobis autem "videbatur quod suum obitum bene sciret; et sic noctem "in gratiarum actione pervigil duxit.

his English version of St. John's Gospel.

"Et mane illucescente, id est, quarta feria, præcepit dili- "genter scribi quæ cœperamus. Et hoc facto, usque ad "tertiam horam ambulavimus deinde cum reliquiis sanctorum, "ut consuetudo illius diei postulat. Unus vero erat ex nobis "cum illo, qui dixit illi, 'Adhuc, magister dilectissime, "'capitulum unum deest; videturne tibi difficile plus te in- "'terrogari?' [3] At ille, 'Facile est,' inquit. 'Accipe tuum "'calamum, et tempera, et festinanter scribe.' Quod ille "fecit. Nona autem hora dixit mihi, 'Quædam preciosa in "'mea capsella habeo, id est, piperem, oraria,[b] et incensa: "'sed curre velociter, et presbyteros nostri monasterii adduc

A.D. 735. "'ad me, ut et ego munuscula qualia Deus donavit illis

[1] *pueri*, ed. Stev.
[2] *docebat*, ed. Stev.
[3] *interrogare*, ed. Stev.

[a] All the MSS. read *rotarum*, which is without meaning. The true reading is probably "nota- 'rum," referring to the important chapters on signs and symbols (notæ) in St. Isidore's *Etymologiæ*.

[b] *oraria.* Handkerchiefs; from *os*.

He makes little presents to the monks,

" 'distribuam. Divites autem in hoc seculo aurum, argentum, " 'et alia quæque preciosa dare student, ego autem cum " 'multa charitate et gaudio fratribus meis dabo quod Deus " 'dederat.'[1] Et allocutus est unumquemque, monens et " obsecrans pro eo missas et orationes diligenter facere; " quod illi libenter spoponderunt. Lugebant autem et flebant " omnes, maxime quod dixerat, quia amplius faciem suam " in hoc seculo non essent visuri. Gaudebant autem quia " dixit, 'Tempus est, ut revertar ad eum qui me fecit, qui " 'me creavit, qui me ex nihilo formavit. Multum tempus " 'vixi; bene mihi pius Judex vitam meam prævidit; " 'tempus resolutionis meæ instat, quia cupio dissolvi et " 'esse cum Christo.' Sic et alia multa locutus, in lætitia " diem usque ad vesperum duxit. Et præfatus puer dixit, " 'Adhuc una sententia, magister dilecte, non est descripta.' " At ille, 'Scribe,' inquit, 'cito.' Post modicum dixit puer, " 'Modo sententia descripta est.' At ille, 'Bene'; inquit, " 'veritatem dixisti; consummatum est. Accipe meum caput " 'in manus tuas, quia multum me delectat sedere ex " 'adverso loco sancto meo in quo orare solebam, ut et ego " 'sedens possim invocare Patrem meum.' Et sic in pavi- " mento suæ casulæ, decantans, 'Gloria Patri, et Filio, et " 'Spiritui Sancto,' cum Spiritum Sanctum nominasset, " spiritum e corpore exalavit[2] ultimum, ac sic regna migravit " ad cœlestia.

and dies

a tranquil and holy death.

" Omnes autem qui videre[3] beati patris obitum, nun- " quam se vidisse ullum alium in tam magna devotione " atque tranquillitate vitam finisse dicebant. Quia, sicut " audisti, quousque anima in corpore fuit, Gloria Patri, et " alia spiritualia quædam[4] expansis manibus Deo vivo et " vero gratias agere non cessabat. Scito autem, frater " charissime, quod multa narrare possem de eo, sed brevi- " tatem sermonis ineruditio linguæ facit."

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[1] post *dederat* subjicit ed. Stev. " et hoc cum tremore feci."

[2] *exhalavit*, ed. Stev.

[3] *audiere vel videre*, ed. Stev.

[4] *quædam cecinit, et*, ed. Stev.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

Cap I.

Quando et ubi Ceolwulfus rex monachus factus sit, et quanta secum dederit, et a quo apud Northam corpus illius delatum sit.

A.D. 737. Ceolwulf resigns his kingdom and becomes a monk at Lindisfarne.

Post dormitionem ejus in Christo anno tertio, rex Ceolwulfus, relicto regno et curis mundialibus, voluntaria paupertate secutus est pauperem Christum, ut cum illo quandoque ditaretur in gloria, Eadberto filio patrui sui [a] in regnum Northanhymbrorum ei succedente. Intravit autem Lindisfarnense monasterium, sancto Cuthberto secum conferens thesauros regios et terras, id est, Bregesne et Werceworde,[1] cum suis appendiciis, simul et ecclesiam quam ibidem ipse ædificaverat; alias quoque quatuor villas, Wudecestre, Hwittingaham, Eadulfingham, Ecgwulfingham. Accepta itaque tonsura in præfato monasterio monachicam cum monachis vitam ducere, et post imperium regni terrestris cœlesti regno gaudebat militare. Ubi gloriosæ conversationis consummans terminum sepultus est; sed succedente tempore ab Ecgfrido ejusdem loci antistite, ut post dicemus, ad Northam translatus. Decursis posthæc multorum annorum curriculis, caput illius Dunelmum translatum, una cum aliis sanctorum reliquiis, in ecclesia sancti Cuthberti quem semper amaverat venerabiliter est locatum.

Auct. Bed.

Infra c. 5.

Cap II.

Qualiter quidam de regio genere ad pacem beati Cuthberti confugerit, et inde abstractus sit; et quomodo Cynewulf episcopus pro eo in carcere trusus sit; et de morte sancti Baltherii.

Eadbert succeeds.

Regnante post Ceolwulfum quem prædiximus Eadberto, Cynewulf episcopatum ecclesiæ Lindisfar-

[1] *Wercewor*ðe, F.

[a] Eadbert's father, according to the Chronicles (a. 738), was the great-uncle not the uncle of Ceolwulf.

nensis suscepit, quem non parvo quidem tempore sed multis rerum adversantium molestiis vexatus tenuit. Denique Offa de genere regio persequentibus inimicis ad corpus sancti Cuthberti confugerat, indeque post vi abstractus nefanda est nece peremptus. Unde offensus rex Eadbertus episcopum cepit, captum in Bebbanburch teneri præcepit, Friothuberto Hagustaldensi episcopo Lindisfarnensem episcopatum administrante, donec placato rege de captione relaxatus Cynewulf ad suam rediret ecclesiam. Hujus pontificatus anno xvii., regni vero Eadberti vicesimo, vir Domini et presbyter Baltherus, qui vitam anachoreticam in Tiningaham duxerat, viam sanctorum patrum ingressus est, migrando ad eum qui se reformavit ad imaginem Filii sui pridie nonas Martias.

Lib. II.

Hist. Reg. a. 750.

He imprisons bishop Cynewulf.

A.D. 757.

Cap III.

De industria et conversione regis Eadberti, et fratris ejus præsulatu, atque ipsius obitu.

The greatness and fame of king Eadbert,

Verum, intermissa paululum de episcopis narratione, de ipso rege Eadberto breviter aliquid dicendum videtur congruum. Patrui,[a] ut dictum est, Ceolwulfi regis, vocabulo Eata, filius erat, qui suscepto regno efficacem se valde ac strenuum ad tenendum regendumque imperium exhibebat. Omnibus itaque adversariis vel sibi subjectis vel bello prostratis, reges circumquaque morantes Anglorum, Pictorum, Britonum, Scottorum, non solum cum eo pacem servabant, sed et honorem illi deferre gaudebant. Cujus excellentiæ fama ac operum virtutis longe lateque diffusa, etiam ad regem Franciæ Pipinum pervenit, propter quod ei amicitia junctus,[b] multa ei ac diversa dona regalia transmisit. Anno autem imperii sui vicesimo primo,

his friendship with Pepin le Bref.

A.D. 758.

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[a] See note on p. 47.

[b] It does not appear on what authority Symeon speaks of a friendship as existing between Pepin and Eadbert.

Lib. II. cum undique pace ac dignitate cum omnium amore ac gratia floreret, filio nomine Osulfo regnum contradidit, seque in clericatu omnipotentis Dei servitio mancipavit, rogatus multum antea ne id faceret a regibus Anglorum, et partem regni sui ejus regno adjicere volentibus, dummodo retinens honorem suo in regno resideret. At ille omnibus divitiis et regnis servitutem Dei prætulit; in qua per decem annos usque ad finem vitæ permansit, sepultusque est Eboraci in eadem porticu qua et frater ejus Ecgbertus, qui tribus annis ante illum obierat. Iste siquidem Ecgbertus in infantia a patre Eata in monasterium traditus fuerat. Qui provectiori ætate cum fratre Ecgredo Romam profectus, diaconatus gradum suscepit, mortuoque ibi fratre patriam reversus, regnante Ceolwulfo atque jubente, primus post Paulinum, accepto ab apostolica sede pallio, genti Northanhymbrorum in archiepiscopatum confirmatus est, et xxxii.[1] annos tenuit.

He resigns his crown and becomes a monk.

His body lies at York, near that of his brother archbishop Egbert.

Cap. IV.

De occisione regis Osulfi, et quo tempore Cynewulf episcopatum Higbaldo dimiserit, et obierit; et quomodo vel ubi rex Elwoldus peremptus sit.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCLX., præsulatus vero Cynewulfi XXI., Osulf, cum post patrem uno anno regnasset, impia nece a sua familia peremptus, [a] Ethelwoldum Mol successorem habuit. Qui ubi sex annis regnaverat, Alchred de stirpe Ethrici,[2] filii Idæ regis, in imperium successit. Nono autem anno regni fraude suorum primatum exilio imperium mutavit, pro quo

A.D. 760. Osulf, Moll, Alchred, Ethelred, and Alfwold kings of Northumbria.

[1] D., sed erasum est aliquid; xxxiiii., F.

[2] D. F.; *Etrici*, Twys.; cf. lib. i., 13.

[a] "hine ofslogon his hiwan"; Chr. E., a. 757.

Ethelred filius Ethelwoldi Mol in regnum substitutus est. Quo imperii quarto anno in exilium fugato, Aelfwold filius Osulfi regnum adeptus Northanhymbrorum decem annis tenuit. Hujus regni tertio anno, qui est ab incarnatione Domini DCCLXXX., Cynewulf, de quo supra diximus, quadragesimo primo sui episcopatus anno, senio ac labore confectus, cum consensu totius congregationis vices suas in ecclesiæ regimine Higbaldo, viro strenuo, delegavit; ipse vero, liber ab hujusmodi curis, tribus posthæc annis quieti et orationi operam dedit. Quarto autem suæ quietis anno eo migrante ad Dominum, Higbald ascendens cathedram pontificalem per viginti annos gubernavit. Anno præsulatus ejus sexto, præfatus rex Ethelwoldus a duce suo Sicga miseranda morte peremptus, in loco qui dicitur Scytlescester[a] juxta murum, sepultus est in Hagustaldensi ecclesia. Fuerat quippe pietatis eximiæ ac justitiæ, unde in loco occisionis ejus lux cœlitus emissa sæpe a plurimis visa est. Cui suus nepos Osred, Alchredi quondam regis filius, successit; sed post annum pulsus regno in Eufoniam insulam, quæ Man vocatur, aufugit; et Ethelred, de exilio revocatus, regnum quod dudum amiserat recepit.

Lib. II.

A.D. 780.

Cynewulf resigns the see of Lindisfarne; Higbald succeeds.

Murder of Alfwold.

Chr. E. A. 789.

Osred succeeds; after him Ethelred is restored.

CAP. V.

De destructione ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensis, et celeri ultione; et de Higbaldo, Egberto, et Egredo episcopis, et terris per illos acquisitis.

A.D. 793.

The destruction of Lindisfarne by the Danes. Description of the island.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCXCIII., a transitu vero patris Cuthberti CVII., pontificatus autem Higbaldi XI., qui est annus imperii impiissimi regis Ethelredi

[a] "Scythles-cester" in the *Historia Regum* of Symeon, a. 788. Mr. Raine believes the place meant to be Chesters near Chollerton, on the line of the Roman wall. In the Saxon Chronicles the name of the locality where Alfwold was murdered is not given. Shitlington, a village on the North Tyne, seems to preserve the name of "Scytl" or "Scytel," whence Scytles-cester.

Lib. II. quintus, vastatio miserrima Lindisfarnensem ecclesiam sanguine et rapina replens, pœne usque ad internecionem delevit. Sed antequam de ipsa vastatione dicamus, de ipso loco antiquorum dicta [a] paucis ponenda putavimus. Sic enim scriptum invenimus; "Lindisfarnensis insula "octo milliariis se extendit per ambitum, in qua est "nobile monasterium, quo eximius antistes Cuthbertus "cum aliis præsulibus, qui ejus successores dignissimi "extiterant, corpore requievit. De quibus apte dici "potest quod canitur, 'Corpora eorum in pace sepulta "sunt, et vivent nomina eorum in æternum.'" Vocatur autem Lindisfarne a fluviolo, scilicet Lindis, excurrente in mare, qui, duorum pedum habens latitudinem, non nisi cum recesserit mare videri potest.

Ecclus xliv. 14.

Chr. E. 793. Hæc de ipsa insula, cujus cladem et aliorum quoque sanctorum necem futuram præsignantia, horrenda fulmina, et dracones igneis jactibus per aera vibrantes et volitantes videbantur. Mox eodem anno Pagani ab aquilonali climate navali exercitu Britanniam venientes, hac illacque discurrentes, prædantes, interficiunt non solum jumenta, verum etiam sacerdotes, Levitas, chorosque monachorum atque sanctimonialium. Veniunt septimo iduum Juniarum ad Lindisfarnensem ecclesiam, miserabili prædatione cuncta vastant, sancta pollutis vestigiis calcant, altaria suffodiunt, omnia thesauraria ecclesiæ rapiunt. Quosdam e fratribus interficiunt, nonnullos secum vinctos assumunt, plurimos opprobriis vexatos nudos projiciunt, aliquos in mare demergunt.[b] Verum non impune illa fecerunt, Deo injurias quas sancto Cuthberto irrogaverant maturius vindicante. Denique anno sequente, dum portum Egfridi regis, id est, Gyrvum vastantes, monasterium quoque ad ostium Doni amnis deprædarentur, dux eorum

Hist. Reg.

Vengeance falls on the authors of the deed.

[a] By the "antiquorum dicta" is probably meant, the Northumbrian annals, which Symeon used as the basis for his Historia Regum, where this passage also occurs, under 793. See the Rolls edition of Henry of Huntingdon, p. xlv. of the Introduction.

[b] The passage "Mox——demergunt" occurs in the *Hist. Regum* in nearly the same words.

Lib. II.

ibidem crudeli nece interiit, nec multo post vi tempestatis eorum collisæ contritæque naves perierunt. Illorum vero quidam fluctibus absorpti, alii qui ad terram vivi quoquomodo fuerant ejecti, mox indigenarum gladio sunt interfecti.

A.D. 802. Death of Higbald, and election of Egbert.

Taliter ecclesia Lindisfarnensi vastata, et suis ornamentis spoliata, nihilominus tamen in ea sedes episcopalis, et qui barbarorum manus effugere poterant monachi, apud sacrum corpus beati Cuthberti multo post tempore permanserunt. A cujus ecclesiæ depopulatione, nono anno, Higbald, completis in episcopatu xxii. annis, defunctus est viii. kal. Junii, et Egbertus in locum ejus electus et consecratus, Eanbaldo archiepiscopo, et Eanberto, et Baldulfo,[1] aliis quoque episcopis in locum qui dicitur Biguell,[a] iii. idus Junii, ad ejus ordinationem convenientibus, septimum tunc annum imperii agente filio Eardulfi Eardulfo, qui occiso regi Ethelredo successerat. Sed eo decimo regni sui anno de provincia fugato, Aelfwold per biennium illud tenuit. Deinde Eanred filius Eardulfi regis, xxxiii. annis imperavit. At Egberto, peractis in episcopatu decem et octo annis, defuncto, Heathured successit, et in officio regiminis novem annos transegit. Post quem Ecgredus vicesimo secundo anno imperii Eanredi regis in præsulatum est sublimatus, vir natu nobilis, et operum efficacia strenuus, qui patris Cuthberti ecclesiam amplius prædecessoribus suis rerum ac terrarum largitionibus locupletare studuerat et honorare. Ædificata namque in Northam ecclesia, eaque in honorem sanctorum Petri apostoli et Cuthberti pontificis, necnon et Ceolwulfi regis et post monachi dedicata, transtulit illo corpus ejusdem Deo dilecti Ceolwulfi, ipsamque villam cum duabus aliis quas ipse condiderat

Reign of Eanred. A.D. 807.

Bishop Heathured succeeds Egbert; after him Egred, who builds the church at Norham, and is a great benefactor to the see.

[1] F.; Badulfo, D.

[a] Bywell, a place on the Tyne fourteen miles from Newcastle, where are the ruins of an ancient castle.

Lib. II. eodem nomine nuncupatis, Geddeworde cum suis appendiciis, ecclesiam quoque et villam quam ædificaverat in loco qui Geinforde appellatur, et quicquid ad eam pertinet a flumine Teisa usque Weor, sancto confessori Cuthberto contulit. Duas quoque villas, Ileclif et Wigeclif, sed et Billingham in Heorternesse, quarum ipse conditor fuerat, locis superioribus quæ prædicto confessori donaverat, perpetuo possidenda adjecit.

Sexto decimo autem episcopatus sui anno, qui est quintus annus regni Ethelredi, qui patri Eanredo successerat, defunctus est, pro quo Eanbertus electus octo annis ecclesiam gubernavit. Post quem, anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCCLIIII., imperii autem Osberti, qui occiso Ethelredo in regnum successerat, anno quinto, Eardulfus, vir magni meriti, cathedræ pontificalis gubernacula suscepit, nec minorem quam proximis Lindisfarnensium quibusque longe positis episcopatus sui locis pastoralis curæ sollicitudinem impendebat. Quorum Luel, quod nunc Carleol appellatur, non solum proprii juris sancti Cuthberti fuerat, sed etiam ad sui episcopatus regimen ab Ecgfridi regis temporibus semper adjacebat.[a] Nemo sane prædecessorum suorum vel

A.D. 846. Eanbert succeeds Egred,

A.D. 854.

after him Eardulf,

[a] At this point there is an erasure to the extent of seventeen lines in the Durham MS. In no other MS. is there a sign of anything being wanting. The explanation of the erasure I conceive to be, that Symeon had here, in the first instance, brought forward counter considerations against the project (agitated long before it was carried out in 1133) of erecting an independent bishopric at Carlisle, on the western side of the mountains. Speaking of Eardulf, we see that he praises him for having bestowed as much of his pastoral solicitude on the remote portions of his diocese as on Lindisfarne itself; among which remote portions, he goes on to say, was Carlisle, an undoubted appendage of St. Cuthbert's see. On this topic we may well conceive that he would enlarge at some length, enumerating perhaps *other* places, also on the west of the mountains, which belonged by ancient right to the jurisdiction of St. Cuthbert. See *Hist. Reg.* a. 854. After having thus written he seems to have changed his mind; perhaps the danger of Carlisle's being severed from the see seemed still remote; and he erased the passage. And this must have been done so soon after it was written, that the copyist of F., who has pre-

the faithful guardian of the body of St. Cuthert during its seven years' wandering.

successorum usque in præsens in tantum sanctissimi corporis Cuthberti præsentia laboravit: qui cum illo de loco ad locum per septem annos fugitando, inter gladios ubique sævientes, inter barbarorum impetus feroces, inter monasteriorum concremationes, inter rapinas et hominum strages, ejus obsequio amore inseparabili adhæsit, sicut in consequentibus dicetur. Lib. II.

Cap. VI.

De secunda per Danos Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ et Northymbriæ depopulatione, et quo tempore vel quare Eardulfus episcopus corpus sancti Cuthberti de insula tulerit, et quale servitium deinceps a clericis celebratum sit.

His temporibus, coadunati undecumque infinita multitudine populi, Danorum scilicet et Fresonum aliarumque gentium Paganarum, multa classe advecti, hisque regibus ac ducibus, Halfdene, Inguar, Hubba, Beicgsecg, Guthrum, Oscytello, Amundo, Sidroc, cum alio ejusdem Chr. Æ. 871.
nominis duce, Osberno quoque et Frana, nec non Haraldo adducti,[a] Angliam occupant, cunctamque pervagantes incendio, rapinis, et strage devastant. Subactis ac perditis australium Anglorum pœne omnibus provinciis, Northanhymbrorum quoque regionem expugnare aggrediuntur. Anno enim ab incarnatione Domini DCCC.LXVII., præsulatus vero Eardulfi anno quarto decimo, qui est quintus annus imperii Ællæ regis Northanhymbrorum, quem expulso Osberto in regnum substituerant,

Frightful ravages of the Danes in Northumbria.

A.D. 867.

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served for us two or three passages which were erased from D. at a *later* period (see pp. 109, 118), already found the space blank when he came to this point, and, finding the sense entire, passed over the gap without notice.

[a] Symeon appears to have culled from the Chronicles and here put together the names of all the Danish marauding chiefs that he could find mentioned between 866 and 911. Thus no mention is made of Oscytel in the chronicles till 905, nor of Agmund (Amundus) till 911.

Lib. II. dictus paganorum exercitus kal. Novembris, capta Eboraca, hac illacque discurrit, cruore atque luctu omnia replevit, ecclesias longe lateque et monasteria ferro atque igne delevit, nil præter solos sine tecto parietes abiens reliquit, in tantum ut illa quæ in præsenti est ætas ipsorum locorum vix aliquod, interdum nullum antiquæ nobilitatis possit revisere signum. Et hac quidem vice ultra Tini fluminis ostium non processerant barbari, sed inde Eboracum sunt reversi.

At Northanhymbrorum populi in tanta necessitate, placatis alterutrum suis regibus, scilicet Osberto et Ella, congregatoque exercitu non parvo, hostium vires quoquomodo debilitare conabantur. Igitur duobus regibus et octo comitibus perducti Eboracum duodecimo kal. Aprilis irrumpunt, quorum quidam intus, alii vero extrinsecus satis pertinaciter agunt. Quorum repentino adventu hostibus aliquantulum perterritis, sed post acriter resistentibus, ex utraque parte atrociter pugnatur. Tandem cum maxima parte suorum ambo præfati reges occubuerunt, et injurias quas ecclesiæ sancti Cuthberti aliquando irrogaverant, vita privati et regno persolverunt. Denique Osbertus Werceworde et Tillemuthe, Ella vero Billingham, Ileclif, et Wigeclif, Crecam quoque sacrilego ausu ipsius ecclesiæ abripuerant. Quibus ut dictum est interfectis, regem Northumbris qui supererant Ecgbertum Dani constituerunt, qui eis tantum, qui ad septentrionalem plagam fluminis Tini habitabant, sub eorum dominio imperaret. His ita gestis, ab Eboraco ad regnum Merciorum exercitus proficiscitur, sed post annum, reversus Eboracum, solita crudelitate grassatur. Inde altero anno divertens, duce omnium crudelissimo Inguar, orientales Anglos invadit, sanctissimumque regem Eadmundum diversis pœnis laceratum cum suo pontifice Hunberto peremit.[a] Inter hæc Northumbrani regem suum Ecg-

Great battle at York; A.D. 867.

The natives defeated, and the kings Osbert and Ella slain.

Egbert is set up by the Danes.

Death of Edmund, king of East Anglia. A.D. 870.

[a] Malmsbury names this Hunbriht as a bishop of Elmham in the time of Ludecan king of Mercia (Gest Pont. lib. ii.), but seems to

Egbert banished. Ricsig succeeds.

Lib. II.

bertum et archiepiscopum Wulfhere de provincia expellunt, et quendam vocabulo Ricsig in regnum sibi constituunt.

In dread of Halfdene,

Nec multo post Halfdene rex Danorum, assumpta de Rheoppandune ubi tunc sederat plurima parte prædicti exercitus, multa cum classe Tinam ingrediens, circa Tomemuthe[1] hiematurus applicuit, totam ad aquilonalem plagam predicti fluminis provinciam, quæ pacem eatenus habuerat, peracta hyeme depopulaturus. Cujus adventu audito, memoratus antistes Eardulfus futuram cladem ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensis et totius episcopatus ultimam depopulationem prævidens, fugam cum suis arripere meditabatur; sed quid de sacratissimo patris Cuthberti corpore fieret sollicitabatur. Sine illo enim thesauro nusquam esse volebat, sive in sua ecclesia residens, sive inde discedens. Ascito ergo probandæ sanctitatis viro Eadredo, qui ab eo quod in Luel, in monasterio dudum ab ipso Cuthberto instituto, educatus officium abbatis gesserit, Lulisc cognominabatur, dum quid potissimum agerent, invicem tractarent, dictorum ipsius patris Cuthberti, quæ ultima ab hac vita migraturus suis contradiderat, recordantes, loco magis eligunt cedere quam barbaris collum submittere. Sic enim inter alia suis paterna sollicitudine consuluit, dicens: "Si vos unum e duobus adversis eligere necessitas "coegerit, multo plus diligo, ut eruentes de tumulo, "tollentesque vobiscum mea ossa recedatis ab his "locis, et ubicunque Deus providerit incolæ maneatis, "quam ut ulla ratione consentientes iniquitati schis-

bishop Eardulf and Eadred abbot of Luel,

remembering the last injunctions of St. Cuthbert,

Vit. S. Cuthb. 39.

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[1] Ita D; lege *Tinemuthe.*

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know nothing of his having shared the martyrdom of king Edmund. For this statement no other writer besides Symeon appears to be responsible. If it were true, the nearly contemporary life of St. Edmund by Abbo (printed in Surius) could hardly have failed to mention it.

Lib. II. "maticorum jugo colla subdatis." Hæc illi relegentes, patrem Cuthbertum, cum ista diceret, futurum sui temporis periculum prophetiæ spiritu prævidisse, sibique reputabant talia mandasse. Tollentes ergo sacrum illud et incorruptum patris corpus, et una cum eo in ejusdem thecæ loculo, (ut in veteribus libris invenitur,) collocatas sanctorum reliquias, videlicet, caput Deo dilecti regis ac martyris Oswaldi, antea in ejusdem ecclesiæ cœmiterio sepultum, partem quoque ossium sancti Aidani, (nam, ut supradictum est, alteram partem Colmannus ad Scotiam rediens secum tulerat;) præterea etiam successorum ejusdem patris Cuthberti venerabilium sacerdotum ossa veneranda, scilicet Eadberti, Eadfridi, Ethelwoldi, quorum supra mentionem fecimus; hæc ergo tollentes, illam nobilem et primam in gente Berniciorum ecclesiam, in qua plurimorum fuerat conversatio sanctorum, illam, inquam, barbaros fugiendo relinquunt, anno scilicet ab incarnatione Domini DCCC. LXXV., ex quo autem rex Oswaldus et pontifex Aidanus, ipsam ecclesiam fundantes, sedem[1] in ea pontificalem cum monachorum congregatione locaverant, CCXLI., a transitu vero patris Cuthberti CLXXXIX., episcopatus vero Eardulfi anno XXII. Hic est octogesimus tertius annus, ex quo a piratis ecclesia illa, ut supra dictum est, sub Higbaldo episcopo devastata, omnesque monachi varia sunt morte necati, præter paucissimos qui quoquomodo evaserant. Qui etiam, hac clade de qua nunc agimus superveniente, omnes defecerunt; sed qui inter eos ab ætate infantili in habitu clericali fuerant nutriti atque eruditi, quocunque sancti patris corpus ferebatur secuti sunt, moremque sibi a monachis doctoribus traditum in offiiciis duntaxat diurnæ vel nocturnæ laudis semper servarunt. Unde tota nepotum suorum successio magis secundum instituta monachorum quam clericorum consuetudinem canendi horas, usque ad tempus Wal-

take up the body of the saint and depart from Lindisfarne. A.D. 875.

The young clerics about the monastery go with them; the monks disperse.

[1] *ecclesiam condiderant, sedemque*, F.; ita etiam fortasse D., prima manu.

cheri episcopi, paterna traditione observavit, sicut eos canentes sæpe audivimus, et usque hodie nonnullos de illa progenie narrantes audire solemus. Nec tamen corpori patris ejusdem Cuthberti, pontificis simul et monachi, monachorum unquam usque ad prædicti Walcheri tempora sedulitas defuit vel obsequium. Eardulfus denique, pontifex et sicut prædecessores ejus monachus, Eadredus quoque monachus et abbas, quoad vixerant, individuo comitatu semper adhærebant. Post quos episcopi sequentes usque ad sæpe dictum Walcherum monachi, sine duobus vel tribus monachis nunquam fuisse noscuntur. Lib. II.

But the service of monks never failed the saint down to the time of bishop Walcher.

Cum ergo episcopus una cum venerandis reliquiis fugiens insulam præfatam et ecclesiam deseruisset, mox et ipsius loci, et totius Northanhymbrorum provinciæ, sæva depopulatio est secuta, exercitu Danorum, ductu Halfdene regis, crudeliter ubique debacchante, qui etiam monasteria passim et ecclesias ignibus contradidit, servos ancillasque Dei ludibriis affectos interfecit, et, ut breviter dicam, ab orientali mari usque ad occidentale, cædem et incendium continuavit. Unde antistes et qui cum illo sancti patris corpus comitabantur, nusquam locum requiescendi habere poterant, sed de loco ad locum huc atque illuc euntes et redeuntes, ante crudelium barbarorum faciem discurrebant.

A storm of rapine falls upon Northumbria.

Nowhere can the fugitives find a secure harbour.

Cap. VII.

Quare fœminæ in ecclesia sancti Cuthberti non intrent, et de excessu sanctimonialium quondam in Collingaham.

In nullam autem pæne ecclesiarum quas confessor beatus, sive ante, sive nunc in tempore fugæ, vel post, sui sacri corporis præsentia illustravit, ulla usque hodie fœminis esse constat intrandi licentia. Cujus rei consuetudo, ut qua de causa oriri cœperit indicemus, in-

Into none of the churches where the saint's body rested are women allowed to enter.

ib. II. termisso paulum narrandi ordine, breviter superiora replicemus. Ante paucos sane sui episcopatus annos monasterium in Coldingham per culpam incuriæ flammis
. iv. 25. absumptum est, quod tamen a malitia inhabitantium in eo . . . . . contigisse, omnes qui novere facillime potuerunt advertere. Erant siquidem in eodem loco, diversis tamen separatæ mansionibus, monachorum sanctimonialiumque congregationes, qui paulatim a regularis disciplinæ statu defluentes inponesta invicem familiaritate decipiendi occasionem inimico præbuerant. Nam et domunculas quæ ad orandum vel legendum factæ fuerant, ... in commessationum, potationum, confabulationum, et cæterarum cubilia illecebrarum convertebant. Virgines quoque Deo dicatæ, contempta reverentia suæ professionis, texendis subtilioribus indumentis operam dabant, quibus aut seipsas ad vicem sponsarum in periculum sui status adornarent, aut externorum sibi virorum amicitiam compararent; unde merito loco illi et habitatoribus ejus gravis de cœlo vindicta flammis sævientibus facta fuerat. Sed non defuit puniendis admonitio præmissa divinæ pietatis, qua aliquantulum correcti paucis post diebus timere, et seipsos intermissis facinoribus cœperunt castigare. Verum post obitum religiosæ abbatissæ Ebbæ redierunt ad pristinas sordes, imo sceleratiora fecerunt, et cum dicerent, Pax et securitas, divinæ ultionis pœna sunt mulctati. Nec multo post vir Domini Cuthbertus episcopali sublimatus cathedra, ne sui, vel præsentes vel futuri, quandoque tali exemplo Dei super se iram provocarent, omne ab eis fœminarum separavit consortium, ne indiscreta illarum societas servis Dei aliquod sui propositi periculum, et ex eorum ruina inimico generaret gaudium. Omnibus ergo et viris et fœminis consentientibus, omne suis et in præsenti et post futuris temporibus muliebre interdixit consortium, earumque ab ecclesiæ suæ ingressu penitus amovit introitum. Unde, in insula sedis episcopalis ejus facta ecclesia, qua lingua indigenarum Grene-cyrice, id est, viridis ecclesia appellatur, eo quod in campi virentis planitie sita sit, jussit ut illo missas et verbum Dei auditura mulieres convenirent, ne propius ecclesiæ in qua ipse cum monachis conversabatur

The disorders at Coldingham in Cuthbert's lifetime were the first occasion of this prohibition.

which extends also to burial grounds.

Lib. II.

unquam accederent. Quæ consuetudo usque hodie diligenter observatur, in tantum, ut nisi metus hostilis vel concrematio loci compellat, nec in cœmiteria quidem ipsarum ecclesiarum, ubi ad tempus corpus ejus requieverat, mulieribus introire liceat.

Cap. VIII.

De fœmina quæ cœmiterium sancti Cuthberti introiit, quam celeri vindicta punita sit.

What happened to the woman Sungeoua, who broke this rule.

Fuerant autem nonnullæ quæ ausu temerario hæc instituta infringere tentaverunt, sed quantum scelus admiserint, mox pœna vindice senserunt. Harum quædam vocabulo Sungeoua, filii Beuonis, qui Gamelo vocabatur, uxor, quæ nocte quadam, cum de convivio domum redire vellet, querebatur marito quod viam propter lutosas platearum voragines nusquam mundam habere potuisset. Ad ultimum utrisque placuit, ut per cœmiterium hujus, hoc est, Dunelmensis ecclesiæ transitum facerent, atque postea hoc peccatum eleemosynis expiarent. Cum ergo simul irent, repente cœpit ipsa nescio quid exhorrere, et se jam jamque extra sensum fore clamare. Increpata a marito ut tacens absque ullo timore pergeret, cum jam extra sepem quæ cœmiterium ecclesiæ ambierat, pedem poneret, illico repente cecidit, domumque portata ipsam noctem hujus vitæ terminum habuit.

Cap. IX.

Item de alia quæ per cœmiterium cucurrit, qua morte se ipsam extinxerit.

The case of the woman who went mad, and was found with her throat cut.

Sequitur et aliud non dissimiliter factum. Erat namque uxor cujusdam divitis, qui postea nobiscum in hac ecclesia in monachico habitu conversatus est, quæ audiens narrari a pluribus variam ecclesiæ ornamentorum pulchritudinem, fœminea aviditate videndi

Lib. II. nova succenditur. Nec valens impetum animi refrænare, quæ se præ cæteris mariti potentia extulerat, arripuit iter per ecclesiæ cœmiterium, sed non impune. Postea enim sensum perdidit, suam morsibus linguam præcidit, nec prius insaniam quam, propria manu inciso sibi gutture, vitam amisit. Nam in domo non facile retineri valens, dum incertis sedibus vagaretur, die quadam inventa est sub arbore cruentato gutture mortua jacere, et cultellum quo semetipsam extinxerat in manu retinere. Plura quidem contra similem aliarum fœminarum audaciam divinitus ostensa adhuc narrari poterant, sed quoniam ad alia nobis transeundum est, hæc brevitatis causa de his dicta sufficiant.[a]

Cap. X.

De peste per Danos illata, et de septem portitoribus sancti Cuthberti, et de visione regis Elfredi.

His interpositis, ad ea quæ[b] inceperamus ordine narrationis redeamus. Discurrentibus undique Paganis, et per multos annos Northanhymbrorum provinciam inhabitantibus, Christianus indigenarum populus cum liberis et conjugibus sacrum beati confessoris corpus comitabatur, omnia quæ amiserat, patriam, domos, supellectilem, in uno ipsius corpore se reputans conservasse, dummodo secum illud habere mereretur. Itaque omnes Northanhymbrorum partes incertis semper sedibus percurrebant, et tanquam oves ora luporum fugientes, solo sui pastoris ductu et patrocinio confidebant. Nec tamen sacri corporis loculum, nec in quo ferebatur vehiculum, passim cuilibet

The exiles wander about Northumbria.

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[a] In D. there is an erasure here to the extent of two lines. It must have been very early, for no notice is taken of it in F., the almost synchronous copy of D.

[b] Here again there is an erasure of one or two words in D.

Seven bearers are appointed, each of whom has a special duty in relation to the relics.

attingere licitum fuerat; sed observata tantæ sanctitati reverentia, ex omnibus specialiter septem ad hoc ipsum constituti fuerant, ut si quid in his cura vel emendatione indigeret, præter ipsos nemo manum apponere auderet. Unde singuli eorum ex officiis quibus deputati fuerant, positis sibi agnominibus vocari solebant. Lib. II.

The apparition of the saint to king Alfred in the marshes of Athelney. A.D. 877.

Inter hæc rex occidentalium Saxonum Elfredus, immanes hostium vires ferre non valens, tribus annis in Glestingiensibus latitavit paludibus. Sed qualiter ibi manifesta visione sanctus ei Cuthbertus apparuerit, et ejus suffragante auxilio subactis hostibus regnum receperit, quoniam alibi plene per ordinem scriptum [a] habetur, hic non esse repetendum videtur. Breviter tamen hic memoretur, quod inter admonitiones cæteras et promissa regnum Britanniæ ei suisque filiis pollicetur. "Misericordiam," inquit, "et justitiam præci- "pue diligas moneo, eademque filios tuos servare "præ omnibus semper doceto, quoniam me impetrante, "Deoque donante, totius Britanniæ imperium vobis "concedetur disponendum. Si autem Deo mihique "fideles extiteritis, me posthac ad conterendum robur "omne inimicorum, inexpugnabile defensionis scutum "habebitis." [b] Igitur in crastino juxta promissum

Hist. de S. Cuth. § 15.

Capp. de Miraculis, I.

[a] *alibi . . . . scriptum.* The oldest known form of the legend of the apparition of St. Cuthbert to Alfred, (on which Asser, the king's contemporary biographer, is silent), is found in the ancient *Historia de S. Cuthberto* printed in this volume. An amplified version of this account occurs in the *Capitula de Miraculis, &c.*, printed further on (Auctarium, No. VI.) Malmesbury seems to have taken a singular pleasure in this legend; he relates it at considerable length, but in his own words, both in the *Gest. Pont.* § 130, and in the *Gest. Reg.* ii. 3. The cautious Florence is silent, and the Saxon Chroniclers.

[b] This passage is cited verbatim from the first chapter of the *Capitula de Miraculis, &c.*, of which the old—perhaps the original—version, represented by the MS. Harl. 1924, is printed in the Auctarium. Thus we have proof that not only the *Historia de S. Cuthberto*, but also the more modern and artificial work on the Translations and Miracles just alluded to, was, in its original form at any rate, anterior in date to Symeon.

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Lib. II. sancti de melioribus amicis quingenti circa horam nonam bene armati ad eum venerunt, et post septem dies apud Assandune[a] Anglorum exercitus concurrit. Ubi de hostibus victoria Elfredus potitus, per filium suum Edwardum regalia dona transmisit sancto Cuthberto. Cujus monita ipse Elfredus, postque ipsum filii ejus, Deo et ipsi sancto confessori fideles existendo, exsequentes, imperii fines latius quam ullus progenitorum suorum extendendo, promissorum ejus effectibus potiti sunt. Quæ tamen in nepote ipsius Elfredi, Æthelstano, maxime sunt completa, qui primus regum Anglorum, subactis ubique hostibus, totius Britanniæ dominium obtinuit. Cujus quanta erga sanctum Cuthbertum, quantave illius erga ecclesiam ejus munificentia extiterit, suo loco in sequentibus dicemus.

Battle of Ethandune. A.D. 878.

Fulfilment of the saint's prediction.

Cap. XI.

Quomodo corpus S. Cuthberti ad Hiberniam transferri debuit, sed tempestate reductum sit.

Verum, ut ad superiora redeamus, episcopus Eardulfus, et abbas Eadredus, tota pœne provincia cum thesauro corporis sacri pervagata, propter diuturnum laborem nimio tandem confecti tædio, ut suis finem laboribus et sancto corpori sedem in Hibernia quærerent, mutuo inter se diu consilio ventilabant, præsertim quia nullam in tota hac terra remanendi spem habebant. Proinde, adhibitis ad hoc quoque de omnibus qui sapientiores erant et ætate provectiores, sui secreta consilii eis pandebant. Placuit itaque illis hoc consilium, et, "Evidenter," inquiunt "in terra pere-
"grina requiescendi locum quærere monemur, quia, nisi
"hoc Dei fuisset voluntas ipsiusque sancti, proculdu-
"bio jampridem et suæ sanctitati locus ad requiescen-

The bearers of the body resolve to pass over to Ireland.

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[a] For Ethandune. This blunder is considered in a note on the corresponding passage in the *Hist. de S. Cuth.* § 16.

"dum condignus, et nobis ad manendum opportunus "fuisset provisus." Ergo ad ostium fluminis quod Dyrwenta vocatur, omnes simul, episcopus, et abbas, et populus conveniunt. Ibi navis ad transponendum paratur, venerabile patris corpus imponitur, cum episcopo et abbate pauci, quibus hoc innotuerat consilium, ingrediuntur, cæteris omnibus quid agere vellent ignorantibus. Quid plura? Sociis a littore se spectantibus valedicunt, secundis vela flatibus expediunt, recto versus Hiberniam ductu proram dirigunt. Quis tunc planctus residentium? "Heu," inquiunt, "miseri! nos "in hæc misera cur nati sumus tempora? Tu, pater "et patrone noster, en tanquam captivus in exilium "duceris, nos, tanquam oves luporum dentibus, ita "miseri et captivi adversariis exponimur sævienti-"bus." Nec illi plura. Continuo venti mutantur, fluctus intumescentes elevantur, et quod nunc erat tranquillum, mare fit tempestuosum; navisque jam non valens gubernari huc et illuc inter fluctivagas jactabatur undas. Qui enim intus erant, velut mortui obriguerant. Interea tres miræ magnitudinis undæ horrifico cum murmure supervenientes, navim medias pœne usque tabulas impleverunt, atque terribili miraculo, postque Ægypti plagas inaudito, protinus in sanguinem convertebantur.[a] ib. II.

They embark in the Solway: grief of those left behind.

The vessel driven back by a storm.

A precious copy of the Gospels lost in the sea.

Qua tempestate dum navis verteretur in latera, cadens ex ea textus Evangeliorum auro gemmisque perornatus, in maris ferebatur profunda. Ergo postquam, sensu aliquantulum recepto, semetipsos qui vel ubi essent recordantur, genua flectunt, veniamque stulti ausus, toto corpore ad pedes sancti corporis prostrati, petunt. Arrepto itaque gubernaculo, navim ad littus

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[a] All from the beginning of the chapter down to this point, and also from "Ergo postquam" to "pre- "catur" is borrowed almost word for word from the *Capp. de Mirac.*, cap. ii. For the story of the loss of the book of the Gospels and its recovery, which is not there found, Symeon is the only authority.

Lib. II. et ad socios retorquent, et continuo flantibus a tergo ventis illuc sine aliqua difficultate perveniunt. Tunc qui prius fleverant dolendo, versa vice plus jam flebant gaudendo; episcopus vero, cum sociis suis, pudore simul et dolore non minus lachrimans, toto corpore in terram prosternitur, sibique indulgeri obnoxius[1] precatur.

Behaviour of the bishop.

Cap. XII.

De portitoribus sacri corporis ex diuturno labore pertæsis, quæ nomina eis fuerint, et qualiter equum frænum carrumque prædicente sancto Cuthberto invenerint, et textum Evangeliorum in mare triduo dimersum illæsum receperint.

Most of the followers of the body desert it; those who remain are in doubt what to do.

Interea populus longo per annorum spatia labore, famis necessitate cunctarumque rerum egestate compulsus, a comitatu sancti corporis dilabitur, et per loca inhabitata, ut qualitercumque vitam sustentarent, dispergitur. Exceptis enim episcopo et abbate, cum suis admodum paucis, omnes discesserunt, præter illos septem, qui ejus obsequio corporis familiarius, ut dictum est, semper adhærere consueverunt. Hi nimirum fuerunt illi qui, deficientibus monachis, nutriti ab eis et educati, ut superius diximus, de insula Lindisfarnensi venerandum sancti confessoris corpus sunt secuti, nunquam illud quousque viverent relicturi. Quorum quatuor qui tribus aliis majores esse memorantur hæc fuerunt nomina, Hunred, Stitheard, Edmund, Franco, de quorum stirpe multi in Northanhymbrorum provincia tam clerici quam laici se descendisse tanto magis gloriantur, quanto progenitores sui sancto Cuthberto fidelius deservisse narrantur. Cum ergo cunctis discedentibus soli cum tanto thesauro relicti essent, adversis undique rebus maximas sustinuerunt angustias, nec tamen quo consilio evaderent quove solatio respirarent, excogitare potuerunt. "Quid," in-

Names of four of the porters.

[1] *obnixius*, Twys.

quiunt, "facturi sumus? Quo patris reliquias ferentes "ibimus? Barbaros fugientes per septem annos totam "provinciam lustravimus, jamque nullus in patria fugæ "superest locus. Ne vero peregrinantes alicubi requiem "quæramus, manifesta flagelli castigatione prohibiti "sumus. Super hæc omnia fames dira incumbens qua-"cunque solatium vitæ quærere compellit, sed gladius "Danorum ubique sæviens, nobis cum hoc thesauro "transitum non permittit. Porro si illo relicto nobis "ipsis providerimus, inquirenti postmodum ejus populo "ubinam sit pastor et patronus eorum, quid responde-"bimus? furto an violentia nobis ablatum dicemus? "in exilium transportatum an solum in desertis nun-"ciabimus relictum? Profecto manu illorum justa con-"festim morte interibimus, omnibusque post futuris "seculis infamiam nostri relinquemus, cunctorum male-"dicta lucrabimur." Lib. II.

Recovery of the book.

Tanta rerum angustia gementibus tandem consuetum piissimi patroni affuit auxilium, quo et animos eorum mœrore et corpora relevavit labore, quia factus est Dominus refugium pauperum, adjutor in opportunitatibus in tribulatione. Cuidam namque illorum, videlicet Hunredo, per visum assistens, jussit ut æstu maris recedente, codicem qui de navi, ut superius dictum est, medias ceciderat in undas quærerent, fortassis enim, contra hoc quod ipsi sperare possent, Deo miserante invenirent. Nam et de illius libri amissione, maxima illorum mentes perturbaverat mœstitia.

The horse and the car.

Quibus verbis hæc quoque adjungens, "Tu," inquit, "citius surgens frænum quod in arbore videbis pen-"dere, equo quem non longe hinc invenies ostendere, "moxque ad te sponte accurrentem curabis frænare, "quem deinceps carrum in quo meum corpus circum-"fertur trahentem, vos levigato labore sequi valebitis." His perceptis, confestim somno expergefactus, visionem se vidisse narravit, moxque aliquos e sociis ad mare, quod erat vicinum, librum quem amiserant quæsituros

Lib. II misit. Per id quippe temporis, in locum qui Candida Casa, vulgo autem Huuiterna vocatur, devenerant. Itaque pergentes ad mare, multo quam consueverat longius recessisse conspiciunt, et tribus vel eo amplius milliariis gradientes, ipsum sanctum Evangeliorum codicem reperiunt, qui ita[1] forinsecus gemmis et auro sui decorem, ita intrinsecus literis et foliis priorem præferebat pulchritudinem, ac si ab aqua minime tactus fuisset. Quæ res animos eorum anxios non parum gaudio relevavit, virumque memoratum de cæteris quæ audierat minime dubitare permisit. Pergens ergo frænum, sicut per somnium didicerat, in arbore suspensum invenit; deinde, hac illacque circumspiciens, paulo remotius caballum rufi coloris aspexit, qui unde vel quomodo in illum solitudinis locum pervenerit, sciri nullatenus potuit. Cui, sicut jussus fuerat, dum manu elata frænum ostenderet, concite adveniens manibus illius sese frænandum obtulit. Quo ad socios perducto pro patris Cuthberti corporis præsentia tanto libentius postmodum laborare gaudebant, quanto ejus suffragia nunquam in necessitate sibi defutura pro certo sciebant. Adjungentes itaque caballum vehiculo, quod illum cœlestem thesaurum theca inclusum ferebat, eo securius per quælibet loca ipsum sequebantur, quo a Deo sibi proviso equo ductore utebantur. Porro liber memoratus in hac ecclesia quæ corpus ipsius sancti patris habere meruit, usque hodie servatur,[a] in quo nullum omnino, ut diximus, per aquam læsionis signum monstratur. Quod plane et ipsius sancti Cuthberti, et ipsorum quoque meritis qui ipsius libri auc-

used for carrying the body.

The book still preserved at Durham.

[1] F.; *sicut*, D, sed secunda manu.

[a] This very book of the Gospels, as is believed, is among the Cottonian MSS. (Nero. D. iv.) in the British Museum. The style of writing, and the exquisite ornamentation, are Irish. At the end occur the names of Eadfrid (bishop of Lindisfarne from 698 to 721) and Bilfrid as the makers of the book. There are large pictures of the four Evangelists, executed with great skill and care; the freshness of the colour is wonderful. Many pages are marvels of interlacing and arabesque ornamentation.

Its makers. tores extiterant, gestum creditur, Eadfridi videlicet venerandæ memoriæ episcopi, qui hunc in honorem beati Cuthberti manu propria scripserat, successoris quoque ejusdem venerabilis Ethelwoldi, qui auro gemmisque perornari jusserat, sancti etiam Bilfridi anachoritæ, qui vota jubentis manu artifici prosecutus, egregium opus composuerat. Erat enim aurificii arte præcipuus. Hi pariter amore dilecti Deo confessoris et pontificis ferventes, suam erga ipsum devotionem posteris omnibus innotescendam hoc opere reliquerunt. Lib. II.

Cap. XIII.

Quomodo jussu sancti Cuthberti Guthredus sit rex effectus; et de donis ejus, privilegiis, et largitionibus.

A.D. 883. Halfdene comes to a bad end.

Cum ergo et corpori suo sedem providere, et servientes sibi a longo per septem annos labore vellet respirare, rex impius Halafdene crudelitatis suæ, quam in ecclesiam ipsius sancti, cæteraque sanctorum loca exercuerat, vindictam Deo vindice persolvit. Nam cum Hist. de S. Cuth. § 12. insania mentis gravissimus corpus ejus invasit cruciatus, unde etiam fætor exhalans intolerabilis, toto eum exercitui reddidit exosum. Contemptus ergo ab omnibus et projectus cum tribus tantum navibus de Tina profugit, nec multo post cum suis omnibus periit. His ita gestis, ad monasterium quod in sua quondam villa, ib. § 20. Capp. de Mir. ii. vocabulo Creca, fuit, illud venerabile corpus deferunt, ibique ab abbate, cui nomen erat Geve, benignissime suscepti, velut in proprio quatuor mensibus residebant.

The body remains at Craike four months.

In a vision, St. Cuthbert directs the election of Guthred as king in Northumbria.

Interea, cum exercitus et qui supererant de indigenis sine rege nutarent, sæpe nominato abbati Eadredo, religiosæ conversationis viro, ipse beatus Cuthbertus per somnium astitit, jamque suorum quieti providens, ei hæc facienda injunxit. "Pergens," inquit, "ad exercitum Danorum, mea te ad illos missum legatione dices, ut scilicet puerum quem viduæ illi "vendiderant, vocabulo Guthredum, filium Hardacnut, Hist. de S. Cuth. ib. "ubinam sit tibi ostendant. Quo invento et pretio

Lib. II. "libertatis ejus viduæ persoluto, ante totius exercitus "frequentiam producatur, atque ab omnibus, me volente "ac jubente, in Oswiesdune, hoc est, monte Oswiu "electus, posita in brachio ejus dextro armilla in reg- "num constituatur." Evigilans ergo abbas rem sociis retulit, moxque profectus jussa per ordinem complevit. Productoque in medium juvene, tam barbari quam indigenæ reverenter jussa sancti Cuthberti suscipiunt, atque unanimi favore puerum ex servitute in regnum constituunt.

Hist. Reg a. 883. Quo cum gratia cunctorum et amore regni sede potito, cum, sopitis jam perturbationum procellis, tranquillitas redderetur, sedes episcopalis, quam in Lindisfarnensi insula superius diximus, in Cuncacestre restauratur. Translato igitur illuc post quatuor menses de Creca beatissimi patris incorrupto corpore, simul et qui Deo servirent ibidem institutis, eximius antistes Eardulfus; vir ubique in prosperis et adversis sancto Cuthberto adhærens, primus ibi cathedram pontificalem conscendit. Nec parum honoris et donorum illi ecclesiæ rex Guthredus contulit, eique qui ex servo se in regem promoverat, devota deinceps humilitate subditus fideliter servivit. Unde cuncta quæ pro privilegiis ecclesiæ suæ ac libertate, atque pro sibi ministrantium sustentatione mandaverat, ille ut promptus minister mox adimplere festinavit. Peace being restored, the see is established at Chester le Street, the saint's body being brought there from Craike.

Hist. de S. Cuth. Denique memorato abbati per visum astans ipse sanctus, "Dicito," inquit, "regi ut totam inter Weor et Tine "terram,[1] mihi et in mea ecclesia servientibus per- "petuæ possessionis jure largiatur, ex qua illis ne "inopia laborent vitæ subsidia procurentur. Præcipe "illi præterea ut ecclesiam meam tutum profugis "locum refugii constituat, ut quicunque qualibet de "causa ad meum corpus confugerit, pacem per triginta et septem dies, nulla unquam occasione in- "fringendam habeat." The saint demands all the country between the Tyne and the Wear with the right of sanctuary.

[1] *Inter Weor et Tine, hæc enim duo sunt flumina quinque ferme ab invicem millibus in mare decurrentia, terram*—F.

All that he asks is granted by Guthred, and confirmed by Alfred,

Hæc per fidelem internuntium abbatem audita, tam ipse rex Guthred, quam etiam rex potentissimus, cujus superius mentio facta est, Elfredus, declaranda populis propalarunt; eaque toto non solum Anglorum sed et Danorum consentiente atque collaudante exercitu in perpetuum servanda constituerunt. Eos autem qui institutam ab ipso sancto pacem quoquomodo irritare præsumpserint, damno pecuniæ mulctandos censuerunt, ut scilicet quantum regi Anglorum pace ipsius fracta debeant, tantundem ipsi sancto violata ejus pace persolvant, videlicet ad minus octoginta et sedecim libras. Terra quoque, quam præceperat, inter memorata duo flumina, [a Deorestrete[a] usque mare orientale[1]] mox ei donata, communi regum supradictorum et totius populi sententia decretum est, "Ut, "quicunque sancto Cuthberto terram donaverit, vel "pecunia ipsius empta fuerit, nemo deinceps ex ea "cujuslibet servitii aut consuetudinis sibi jus aliquod "usurpare audeat, sed sola ecclesia inconcussa quiete "ac libertate cum omnibus consuetudinibus, et, ut "vulgo dicitur, cum saca et socne et infangentheof "perpetualiter possideat." Has leges et hæc statuta quicunque quolibet nisu infringere præsumpserint, eos in perpetuum nisi emendaverint Gehennæ ignibus puniendos, anathematizando sententia omnium contradidit.

Lib. II.

with other privileges.

The Scottish invaders swallowed up.

Interjecto tempore aliquanto, gens Scottorum innumerabili exercitu coadunato, inter cætera suæ crudelitatis facinora Lindisfarnense monasterium sæviens et rapiens invasit. Contra quos dum rex Guthredus per sanctum Cuthbertum confortatus pugnaturus staret, subito terra dehiscens hostes vivos omnes absorbuit, renovato ibi miraculo antiquo, quando "aperta est terra et deglutivit Dathan, et operuit

Hist. de S. Cuth. § 33.

Capp. de Mir. iv.

Ps. cv. 17.

[1] Verba uncis inclusa in solo codice F. reperiuntur; erasa sunt in D.

[a] See *Hist. de S. Cuthb.*, §§ 9, 24. Deorstrete was "the great "Roman thoroughfare through the "county of Durham from south to "north": Surtees ed. of Symeon, p. 142, *n*.

Lib. II. "super congregationem Abiron." Qualiter autem gestum sit, alibi constat esse scriptum.

Cap. XIV.

Item de dignitatibus et ecclesiæ privilegiis.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCCXCIIII. rex Guthredus,[a] cum non paucis annis prospere regnasset, moriens, privilegia ecclesiæ patris Cuthberti, de quiete, de libertate ipsius, de pace confugientium ad sepulchrum ejus a nullo unquam irritanda, alia quoque in ecclesiæ ipsius munimentum statuta, omnibus post se regibus, episcopis, et populis in æternum conservanda reliquit, quæ etiam usque hodie servantur. Denique nemo ea unquam impune conabatur infringere. Quorum Scotti, ut præfati sumus, cum pacem ejus violassent, subito terræ hiatu absorpti in momento disparuerunt. Alios quoque in simili præsumptionis scelere, quam terribilis vindicta percusserit, in sequentibus dicetur. Mortuo Guthredo, rex Elfredus Northanhumbrorum regnum suscepit disponendum. Postquam enim sanctus Cuthbertus ei apparuerat, paterno regno, id est, Occidentalium Saxonum, et provinciam Orientalium Anglorum, et Northanhymbrorum post Guthredum adjecit.

A.D. 894. Death of Guthred.

The franchises and privileges of the saint.

Alfred assumes the government of Northumbria.

Cap. XV.

Quid rex Elfredus moriens Edwardo filio suo præceperit.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCCXCIX. idem piissimus rex Anglorum Elfredus, peractis in regno viginti octo annis et dimidio, defunctus est, Edwardo filio in regnum patri succedente: qui ab ipso diligentissime admonitus fuerat, ut sanctum Cuthbertum

A.D. 899. Death of Alfred. His son Edward succeeds.

[a] Guthred is not mentioned in the Saxon Chronicles, to the writers of which Northumbria was a sealed and pagan country for some thirty years or more after the conquest by Healfdene in 875.

Lib. II.

ejusque ecclesiam quam maxime diligendo semper honori haberet, recolendo ex quantis angustiis et calamitatibus patrem eripiens regno restituerit, et plus quam antecessores ejus habuerant ei, subactis hostibus, augmentaverit.

Cap. XVI,

De episcopo Cutheardo, et quomodo Edwardus monarchiam perceperit, et de Onlafbald qualiter in limine ecclesiæ sancti Cuthberti interierit.

A.D. 899. Death of bishop Eardulf.

Eodem anno, quo rex Elfredus mortuus est, ille sæpe memoratus antistes Eardulfus in senectute bona suorum præmia laborum recepturus ab hac vita migravit, anno scilicet nonodecimo ex quo sacrum beati patris Cuthberti corpus in Cuncacestre translatum fuerat, sui vero episcopatus anno quadragesimo sexto. In cujus loco Cutheardus, et ipse coram Deo et hominibus vita probabili commendatus, omnium electione cathedram episcopalem suscepit regendam. Qui magna sollicitudine rerum sufficientiam Deo coram incorrupti corporis præsentia servituris providens, quas et quot villas ipsius sancti pecunia comparatas prioribus regum donariis adjecerit, ecclesiæ cartula,[a] quæ antiquam regum et quorumque religiosorum munificentiam erga ipsum sanctum continet, manifeste declarat. Itaque Edwardo non solum Occidentalium Saxonum, verum etiam Orientalium Anglorum, Northanhymbrorum quoque regna disponente, et Cutheardo Berniciorum administrante præsulatum, rex quidam paganus, vocabulo Reingwald, multa cum classe Northanhymbrorum partibus applicuit. Nec mora, irrupta Eboraca, indigenas quosque meliores vel occidit, vel extra patriam fugavit. Occupavit quoque totam mox terram sancti Cuthberti villasque

The benefactions of Cutheard his successor.

Hist. de S. Cuth. § 21.

Reginald, a Pagan Dane, invades Northumbria;

Hist. de S. Cuth. § 24.

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[a] By the *cartula* is meant the ancient History of St. Cuthbert, printed further on.

Lib. II. ipsius duobus suis militibus, quorum unus Scula, alter vero Onlafbald appellabatur. Horum Scula, a villa quæ vocatur Iodene usque Billingham sortitus dominium, miseros indigenas gravibus tributis et intolerabilibus afflixit. Unde usque hodie Eboracenses, quoties tributum regale solvere coguntur, ei parti terræ sancti Cuthberti, quam Scula possederat, in levamentum sui mulctam pecuniæ imponere nituntur. Scilicet legem deputant, quod paganus per tyrannidem fecerat, qui non legitimo regi Anglorum, sed barbaro et alienigenæ, et regis Anglorum hosti militabat. Nec tamen, quamvis multum in hoc laboraverint, pravam consuetudinem huc usque, sancto Cuthberto resistente, introducere potuerunt.

grants the lands of the see to Scula and Onlafbald.

Preposterous claim of the men of York founded on this circumstance.

Aliam vero partem villarum Onlafbald occupavit, qui multo quam socius ejus immaniorem et crudeliorem se in sui perniciem omnibus exhibebat. Denique cum multis sæpe injuriis episcopum, congregationem, atque populum sancti Cuthberti molestaret, prædiaque ad episcopium jure attinentia sibi pertinaciter usurparet, episcopus volens eum Deo lucrari, "Quæso," inquit, "pertinacis animi rigorem deponas, et ab illicita rerum "pervasione ecclesiasticarum jam te cohibeas. Nam "si hæc monita spreveris, ipsum confessorem suas "suorumque injurias per te irrogatas graviter vindica"turum esse non dubites." At ille contra hæc, diabolico spiritu inflatus, "Quid," inquit, "hujus hominis "mortui minas quotidie mihi objicitis? Quid contra "me vobis valebit ipsius in quo speratis auxilium? "Deorum meorum potentiam contestor, quod tam ipsi "mortuo, quam vobis omnibus deinceps inimicissimus "ero." At episcopus omnesque fratres in terram prostrati, a Deo et sancto confessore superbas illius minas adnullari flagitabant. Jam miser ille ad ostium venerat, jam alterum intra limen, alterum extra pedem posuerat, et ibi tanquam clavis per utrumque pedem confixus, nec egredi nec regredi valebat, sed immobilis ibi

The arrogance and punishment of Onlafbald.

Hist de S. Cuth. § 23.

prorsus manebat. Ubi diutius tortus, beatissimi confessoris sanctitatem palam confitebatur, sicque impiam animam eodem in loco reddere compellebatur. Quo exemplo alii omnes conterriti, neque terras, neque aliud quid quod ecclesiæ jure competebat, quoquomodo ulterius pervadere præsumebant. Lib. II.

Cap. XVII.

De Tilredo episcopo, et de mandato regi Ethelstano nunc a patre et prius per avum suum facto.

A.D. 915. Death of Cutheard. A.D. 922. Tilred succeeds. Glorious reign of Athelstan,

Defuncto autem Cutheardo cum jam quintum decimum suo in episcopatu ageret annum, substitutus est ad ecclesiæ regimen bonæ actionis vir Tilredus. Cujus pontificatus septimo anno Edwardo rege defuncto filius ejus Ethelstanus suscepta regni gubernacula gloriosissime rexit, primusque regum totius Britanniæ quaquaversum adeptus est imperium, adjuvante atque impetrante hoc apud Deum beato Cuthberto, qui avo illius Elfredo quondam apparens promiserat: "Totius," inquiens, "Britannie regnum filiis tuis me impetrante "concedetur disponendum." Denique huic Ethelstano pater moriturus universa replicare cœpit, quæ et quanta suo patri pietatis beneficia beatus Cuthbertus impenderit, qualiter ex latibulis, ad quæ metu hostium confugerat, ad bellandum contra hostem prodire jusserit, moxque ad illum totius Angliæ exercitum congregaverit, nec difficulter hoste prostrato, patrio illius regno plurimam Britanniæ partem adjecerit, semperque deinceps promptus illi adjutor extiterit. "Idcirco," inquit, "fili, tanto patrono tamque benigno "liberatori nostro devotum te semper et fidelem ex"hibe, memor quid filiis Elfredi, si pietatem et justi"tiam fecerint, si ei fideles extiterint, ipse promiserit." Hæc pii patris monita Ethelstanus libenter suscipiens, libentius, regno potitus, est executus. Denique ante illum nullus regum ecclesiam sancti Cuthberti tantum

Capp. de Mir. I.

Hist. de S. Cuth.

Lib. II. dilexit, tam diversis tamque multiplicibus regiis muneribus decoravit. Unde hostibus passim emergentibus ubique prævalens, omnibus illis vel occisis, vel servitio sibi subactis, vel extra terminos Britanniæ fugatis, majori quam ullus regum Anglorum ante illum gloria regnabat. Hujus primo imperii anno, qui est annus Dominicæ incarnationis DCCCCXIX., natus est sanctus Dunstanus, qui LXX. ætatis suæ anno regnante Ethelredo rege transiit ad Dominum.

aided by the patronage of St. Cuthbert.

A.D. 919. Birth of St. Dunstan.

Cap. XVIII.

De episcopo Wigredo, et quanta Ethelstanus rex sancto Cuthberto dedit, quando in Scotiam perrexit.

Anno incarnationis Dominicæ DCCCCXXV. Tilredus, cum in episcopatu jam tredecim annos et quatuor menses egisset, defunctus est, et in ejus locum Wigredus eligitur episcopus et consecratur. Cujus pontificatus anno decimo Ethelstanus rex, dum Scotiam tenderet cum totius Britanniæ exercitu, sancti Cuthberti patrocinia quærens ejus sepulchrum expetiit, suffragia postulavit, eique diversis speciebus in ecclesiæ ornamentum multa quæ regem deceret donaria contulit, quæ in hac Dunelmensi ecclesia usque hodie servata, piam ipsius regis erga ecclesiam sancti patris Cuthberti devotionem, et æternam representant memoriam. Quæ autem et quanta sint, descripta per ordinem cartula comprehendit. His ornamentorum donariis, villarum quoque non minus quam XII. possessiones ad sufficientiam inibi servientium superadjecit. Quorum nomina quoniam alibi scripta tenentur, hic ea ponere necessarium non habetur. Leges quoque et consuetudines ipsius sancti quas avus ejus rex Elfredus et Guthredus rex instituerant, ipse approbavit, et inviolabili firmitate in perpetuum servandas censuit. Oblatione autem facta, eos si qui aliquid ex his auferre vel quoquomodo minuere præsumpsissent, gravissimæ

A.D. 925. Death of Tilred; Wigred succeeds.

Munificent gifts of Athelstan to the church of St. Cuthbert.

Hist. de S. Cuth. § 26.

ibid.

maledictionis anathemate percussit, ut scilicet in die judicii cum Juda traditore Domini damnationis sententia feriantur. Exercitus quoque jussu regis sepulchrum sancti confessoris xcvi. et eo amplius libris argenti honoravit.[a] Ita se suisque sancti confessoris patrocinio commendatis, disposito itinere profectus est, fratrem Eadmundum multum obtestatus, ut si quid sinistri in hac sibi expeditione eveniret, corpus suum ad ecclesiam sancti Cuthberti sepeliendum referret. Fugato deinde Owino rege Cumbrorum, et Constantino rege Scottorum, terrestri et navali exercitu Scotiam sibi subjugando perdomuit.

Lib. II. ibid. ibid. § 27.

He subjugates Scotland.

A.D. 937. Battle of Brunanbrub.

Quarto post hæc anno, hoc est, DCCCCXXXVII. Dominicæ nativitatis anno, apud Weondune, quod alio nomine Etbrunnanwerc, vel Brunnanbyrig appellatur, pugnavit contra Onlaf, Guthredi quondam regis filium, qui DC. et XV. navibus advenerat, secum habens contra Ethelstanum auxilia regum præfatorum, scilicet Scottorum et Cumbrorum. At ille, sancti Cuthberti patrocinio confisus, prostrata multitudine infinita reges illos de regno suo propulit, suisque gloriosum reportans triumphum, hostibus circumquaque tremendus, suis erat pacificus, et in pace postmodum vitam terminavit, fratri Edmundo imperii monarchiam relinquens. Hujus regni anno tertio, Wigredus, cum decem et septem annos in episcopatu habuisset, defunctus, Uhtredum habuit successorem. Interim[1] rex Edmundus et ipse in Scotiam cum exercitu tendens, sancti Cuthberti suffragia postulaturus, ad ejus sepulchrum divertit, et, ut frater ejus quondam Ethelstanus, regalibus donis

A.D. 942. Bishop Wigred dies, and is succeeded by Uthred.

[1] *Post hæc*, F.

[a] In the Hist. de S. Cuth. the army is said to have given "xii. "hundred." If the amounts agree, Symeon must have reckoned the pound at $12\frac{1}{2}$ shillings.

Lib. II. Hist. de S. Cuth. § 27.

illud honoravit,[1] auro scilicet et palliis, leges quoque illius sicut unquam meliores fuerant firmavit.[2]

Cap. XIX.

Quomodo sanctus Cuthbertus Sexhelmum episcopum simoniacum pepulit, et de terra sua fugaverit.

Sexhelm succeeds Uthred,

Defuncto autem Uhtredo episcopo, Sexhelm loco ejus est ordinatus, sed vix aliquot mensibus in ecclesia residens, sancto Cuthberto illum expellente, aufugit. Cum enim, a via prædecessorum suorum aberrans, populum ipsius sancti et eos qui in ecclesia ejus serviebant avaritia succensus affligeret, exterritus a sancto per somnium jussus est quantocius abscedere. Dum ille differret, secunda nocte vehementius eum increpans festinanter abire jussit, pœnam ei intentans si tardaret. Nec sic quidem ille obedire voluit, cum ecce tertio multo quam ante severior illum aggreditur, et quam citius eum aufugere præcepit, nec quicquam de rebus ecclesiæ secum asportare præsumeret; si aliquandiu tardaret, mortem illi citius affuturam minabatur. Expergefactus de somno cœpit infirmari, et, ne mortem mox incurreret, abire quamvis ægrotans festinavit. Dum autem fugiens circa Eboracum venisset sanitatem recepit, pro quo Aldredus cathedram episcopalem conscendit.

but is driven away by St. Cuthbert.

Aldred succeeds.

Cap. XX.

De morte Eadmundi regis et episcopatu Elfsig.

A.D. 948. Edred, coming to the throne after Edmund, enriches the church of St. Cuthbert.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCCCXLVIII. Edmundo rege mortuo frater ejus Eadredus solium regni conscendit, vir pietatis cultor et justitiæ, qui

[1] *honorans*, F.

[2] *leges illius ipse quoque, violatores earum æterno damnans anathemate, firmavit*, F.

etiam sicut et fratres ejus ecclesiam sancti Cuthberti regalibus donariis visitavit. Mortuo autem Aldredo episcopo Elfsig pro eo ipsius ecclesiæ gubernacula in Cunecacestre suscepit, ordinatus Eboraci ab Oscekillo archiepiscopo tempore Eadgari regis, qui fratri Eadwio in regnum successerat. Transactis autem in episcopatu suo XXII. annis Elfsig defunctus est, pro quo electus est et consecratus episcopus vir eximiæ religionis Aldhunus, anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCCCLXXXX., qui est duodecimus annus imperii Ethelredi regis, qui post mortem fratris Edwardi, fraude novercæ suæ miseranda nece perempti, sceptrum regnandi obtinuit. Erat autem idem antistes prosapia nobilis, sed placita Deo conversatione multo nobilior, habitu, sicut omnes prædecessores ejus, et actu probabilis monachus. Cujus probitatis laudem a majoribus sibi traditam indigenæ pœne omnes, ac si eum hodie viderent, prædicare solent.

Elfsig succeeds Aldred; after him Aldhun,

A.D. 990.

whose virtues are still held in honour by the natives.

LIBER TERTIUS.

Cap. I.

Quomodo Aldunus corpus S. Cuthberti in Rippun tulerit, et de Werdelau postea in Dunelmum venerit, et de nominibus portitorum.

A.D. 995. In fear of the Danes, bishop Aldhun transports the body of the saint to Ripon.

Anno autem ab incarnatione Domini DCCCCLXXXXV., imperii vero Ethelredi regis XVII., idem antistes, incipiente jam accepti præsulatus VI. anno, cœlesti præmonitus oraculo, ut cum incorrupto sanctissimi patris corpore quantocius fugiens superventuram piratarum rabiem declinaret, tulit illud, cxiii.[1] anno ex quo in Cunecacestre locatum fuerat, et inde cum omni qui ejus dicitur populo in Hripum transportavit. In qua fuga illud memorabile fertur, quod in tanta

[1] cxv., F.

Lib. III. multitudine nemo a minimo usque ad maximum ulla infirmitatis molestia affligebatur, sed sine ullo labore, sine ullo incommodo, viam gradiendo peragebant. Nec solum homines sed etiam animalia tenera, et nuper quoque nata, (erat enim tempus veris,) sana et incolumia sine aliqua difficultate et vexatione toto itinere gradiebantur.

Post tres autem vel quatuor menses pace reddita, cum venerandum corpus ad priorem locum reportarent, jamque prope Dunhelmum ad orientalem plagam in locum qui Wrdelau dicitur advenissent, vehiculum quo sacri corporis theca ferebatur ulterius promoveri non poterat. Accedunt plures, sed nil quamvis multum laborantes proficiunt. Quibus adhuc multo plures conjunguntur, sed illud movere nequaquam valebant. Itaque incorrupti corporis theca, veluti mons quidam, mansit immota. Quo facto, omnibus aperte clarebat, quod ad eum ubi prius fuerat locum se transportari nollet; quo autem transferre deberent ignorabant. Nam ubi tunc fuerant, medio scilicet in campo, locus erat inhabitabilis. Alloquens ergo populum episcopus, præcepit ut omnes simul per triduum jejunio vigiliis ac precibus cœlestis ostensionem indicii expeterent, quo cum sacro patris corpore divertere deberent.

On the return journey, at Werdelau, the bier becomes immovable.

Quo facto, cuidam religioso, nomine Eadmero, revelatum est, ut in Dunhelmum illud transferre, ibidemque requiescendi sedem debuissent præparare. Qua revelatione omnibus patefacta, relevati gaudio gratias cuncti egerunt Christo, moxque accedentes paucissimi corporis sancti loculum levaverunt, quod tota prius multitudo nec movere poterat. Itaque ad locum cœlitus ostensum, videlicet Dunhelmum, cum lætitia et laude corpus sanctum detulerunt, factaque citissime de virgis ecclesiola, ibidem illud ad tempus locarunt.

Eadmer has a revelation that the body is to be borne to Durham, and rest there.

This is done, and a small wattled church put up.

Ex his autem qui tunc cum sancti confessoris corpore in hunc locum convenerant erat quidam vocabulo Riggulfus, qui omne tempus vitæ suæ cc. et decem

Descendants of the original porters; Riggulf, who was

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210 years old at his death; annos habuerat, quorum quadraginta in monachico habitu ante mortem duxerat. Erat autem nepos Franconis, qui, ut superius dictum est, unus erat de septem qui venerandum patris corpus individuo comitatu sunt secuti. Franco quippe pater erat Reingualdi, a quo illa quam condiderat villa Reiningtun [a] est appellata. Reingualdus vero pater extitit Riggulfi, cujus filius Ethtric, ex cujus Ethrici filia progenitus est presbyter Alchmundus, pater ejus, qui nunc usque superest, Elfredi. Hujus Franconis socius erat, ut supra dictum est, Hunred, cujus filius Eadulf, cujus filius Eadred fuerat, qui, ut fertur, sex annis ante finem vitæ extra ecclesiam nunquam loqui poterat, cum in ecclesia nemo ad cantandum vel psallendum expeditior et promptior esse potuisset. Fuerant nonnulli qui hoc ei propterea putaverant evenisse, ut nulla inutili vel noxia locutione illius lingua macularetur, quæ tam studiose in precibus et psalmodia exercebatur. Hujus Eadredi filius erat Collanus, cujus filius Eadred, cujus filius Collanus, ex cujus sorore progeniti sunt Eilafus, et qui usque hodie supersunt [b]. Hemmingus et Wulfkillus presbyteri. De his tantum dixisse sufficiat. Nunc ad ea unde digressus est sermo redeat.

Lib. III.

Lib. II. cap 12.

and Eadred.

Cap. II.

Qualiter locus ille habitabilis factus sit.

From all the country round Durham the people come and work at clearing the site and building a church.

Comitans sanctissimi patris Cuthberti corpus universus populus in Dunhelmum, locum quidem natura munitum sed non facile habitabilem invenit, quoniam densissima undique silva totum occupaverat. Tantum in medio planities erat non grandis, quam arando et

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[a] Rennington in the parish of Embleton, not far from Alnwick.

[b] *supersunt*. That is to say, the great-great-grandsons of Eadred, who was grandson to one of the seven porters, were contemporaries of Symeon.

Lib. III. seminando excolere consueverant; ubi episcopus Aldhunus non parvam de lapide postea ecclesiam erexit, sicut in consequentibus apparebit. Igitur præfatus antistes totius populi auxilio et comitis Northanhymbrorum Uhtredi adjutorio totam extirpans silvam succidit, ipsumque locum in brevi habitabilem fecit. Denique a flumine Coqued usque Tesam universa populorum multitudo tam ad hoc opus quam ad construendam postmodum ecclesiam prompto animo accessit, et donec perficeretur devota insistere non cessavit. Eradicata itaque silva, et unicuique mansionibus [a] sorte distributis, præsul antedictus, amore Christi et sancti Cuthberti fervens, ecclesiam honesto nec parvo opere inchoavit, et ad perficiendam omnistudio intendit. Interea sanctum corpus, de illa quam superius diximus ecclesiola in aliam translatum quæ Alba Ecclesia [b] vocabatur, tribus ibidem annis, dum major ecclesia construeretur, requievit.

Cap. III.

De contracta quadam sanata in loco ubi beati Cuthberti corpus requieverat.

Ubi autem prius jacuerat, miracula coruscare et infirmi sanitatem cœperunt recuperare. Transacto namque tempore non parvo, quædam fœmina de natione Scottorum, toto corpore ab infantia debilis, Dunhelmum fuerat perducta. Cujus miseriæ nemo tam inhumanus qui non posset condolere. Pedes namque et crura post tergum retorta post se trahebat, atque ita manibus reptando de loco ad locum se miseranda ferebat. Contigit autem ut ad præfatum locum ubi sanctissimum corpus paucis diebus requieverat, miserabilis illa se trahendo perveniret. Ubi se in suum officium retorquentibus nervis subito illa

Miracle at the place where the body had lain.

[a] *mansionibus*. Comp. Virg. Æn. iii., 137, "jura domosque dabam."

[b] For an account of the White Church, see ch. xvi. of Reginald's "Libellus de admirandis B. Cuthberti virtutibus," edited by Mr. Raine for the Surtees Society.

exilire cœpit et rursus ad terram cadere, et clamore universos perturbare. Quæ post paululum erecta pedibus suis sanissima constitit, et salvatori suo Christo per intercessionem beati Cuthberti gratiarum actiones retulit. Hoc audito, civitas tota festinat ad ecclesiam, signa pulsantur, clerus, "Te Deum "laudamus" personat, populus suis vocibus in laudem Dei concrepat, Cuthbertum vere magnum et Deo dilectum prædicat. Illa vero quæ sanata fuerat, per multas regiones ac nationes discurrit, et iter omne pedes incedendo peregit. Nam et Romam gratia orationis adiit, et inde revertens, in Hiberniam profecta est, omnibus per factum in se miraculum Dei gloriam et ejus dilecti confessoris sanctitatis ubique prædicans excellentiam. Hoc sane ita factum quemadmodum descripsimus, a quibusdam presbyteris qui viderunt religiosis, et ætate provectis et omnino simplicibus, frequenter audivimus.

The woman who was healed afterwards went to Rome and Ireland.

Cap. IV.

Quo tempore Aldunus episcopus ecclesiam in Dunelmo dedicaverit, et quot donariis a potentibus ditata sit.

A.D. 988. The new church finished and dedicated, and the body translated to it, amidst universal joy.

Verum, ut ad superiora sermo redeat, venerandus antistes Aldhunus ecclesiam tertio ex quo eam fundaverat anno, pridie nonas Septembris, solenniter dedicavit, cunctisque gaudentibus et Deum collaudantibus, sanctissimi patris Cuthberti incorruptum corpus in locum quem paraverat translatum debito cum honore locavit. Taliter usque in præsens cum sancto corpore sedes episcopalis hoc in loco permansit, quæ a rege quondam Oswaldo et pontifice Aidano primitus in insula Lindisfarnensi fuerat instituta. A quo anno, scilicet quo Aidanus in ipsa insula cathedram conscenderat pontificalem, usque annum quo Aldhunus eandem in Dunhelmo ascenderat, CCCLXI., a transitu vero patris Cuthberti CCCIX. computantur anni. Igitur antistes vehementer cum universo

Lib. III. populo hujus loci habitatione delectatus exultavit, ubi omnipotens Deus famuli sui corpus requiescere voluit, atque voluntatem suam, sicut supradictum est, signi ostensione manifestavit et revelatione. Erat sane idem episcopus multæ religionis et humilitatis, verbo et actu bonis hominibus amabilis.

Endowments in land.

Fuerunt per id tempus plurimi qui diversa dona in ornamentum ecclesiæ, et ad sufficientiam inibi sancto confessori ministrantium terras contulerunt. Inter quos unus ex nobilibus vocabulo Styr, filius Ulfi, a rege Ethelredo impetravit, ut Dearningtun cum suis appendiciis sancto Cuthberto donaret; atque coram rege, et præsentibus archiepiscopo Eboracensi Wulstano et episcopo Dunhelmensi Aldhuno, et aliis principalibus viris qui cum rege Eboracum convenerant, ita hoc donum firmatum est, ut qui sancto Cuthberto auferret æterno anathemate damnaretur. Alias quoque terras supradictus vir adjecit quas alibi descriptas pagina ostendit. His donariis alias terras æterno jure possidendas Snaculf, Cykelli filius, superaddidit, scilicet Brydbyrig, Mordun, Socceburg, Grisebi, cum saca et socne. Sunt autem nonnullæ terrarum possessiones quas Aldhunus episcopus sui temporis comitibus Northanhymbrorum, dum necessitatem paterentur, ad tempus quidem præstitit; sed violentia comitum qui eis successerunt, pene omnes eas a dominio ecclesiæ alienavit. Quarum quædam hic nominatim ponuntur; Gegenforde, quam Ecgredum episcopum superius condidisse sanctoque Cuthberto donasse superius dictum est, Cueorningtun, Sliddeuesse, Bereford, Stredford, Lyrtingtun, Marawuda, Stantun, Stretlea, Cletlinga,[1] Langadun, Mortun, Persebrige, Alclit, II. Copland, Weardsetle,[2] Bincestre, Cuthbertestun, Ticcelea, Ediscum, Wudetun, Hunewic, Neowatun,

Hist. de S. Cuth. § 29.

ibid. § 30.

[1] *Cleclinga*, F. | [2] *Wersetle*, F.

Helme. Hæc omnia fuerant ecclesiæ, quæ, dum præstans indigentibus prærogaret beneficium, quarum rerum passa est dampnum.[1] Lib. III.

Cap. V.

De Cnut rege, et oratione Alduni episcopi et morte.

A.D. 1018. Anno incarnationis Dominicæ MXVIII., Cnut regnum Anglorum disponente, Northanhymbrorum populis per XXX. noctes cometa apparuit, quæ terribili præsagio futuram provinciæ cladem præmonstravit. Siquidem paulo post, id est, post triginta dies, universus a flumine Tesa usque Twedam populus, dum contra infinitam Scottorum multitudinem apud Carrum dimicaret, pene totus cum natu majoribus suis interiit. Episcopus, audita populi sancti Cuthberti miseranda nece, alto cordis dolore attactus graviter ingemuit, et, "O me," inquit, "miserum! ut quid in hæc "tempora servatus sum? An ideo huc usque vixi, ut "tantam viderem cladem populi? Jam in pristinum "sui statum amplius terra non reformabitur. O," inquit, "sanctissime, O dilecte Deo confessor Cuthberte, "si quid unquam tibi placitum feci, nunc quæso mihi "vicem repende. Illam dico vicem, ut tuo populo "mortuo non sim diutius ego superstes." Nec multo post consecutus est quod desiderans oraverat. Post paucos etenim dies morbo correptus obiit, peractis in episcopatu viginti novem annis, quorum quinque in Ceastre, XXIV. autem in Dunhelmo transegit; qui de ecclesia quam inceperat solam turrim occidentalem imperfectam reliquit. Cujus perfectionem, et dedicationem ejus successor adimplevit.

Rout of the Northumbrians at Carham.

Hist. Reg. a. 1018.

A.D. 1019. Death of bishop Aldhun.

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[1] Periodus *Quarum . . . dampnum* deest in ed. Twys.

Cap. VI.

Lib. III. *Qualiter voce ter de sepulchro sancti Cuthberti emissa, Eadmundus ipsius ecclesiæ clericus ad episcopatum sit provectus, et monachus factus.*

Defuncto Aldhuno episcopo, tribus pœne annis ecclesia pastorali destituebatur solatio. Cujus longam destitutionem hi qui in ea fuerant moleste ferentes, facto in unum conventu tractabant quem ex sese ad episcopatum eligere possent. Et dum illorum unicuique durum esset mundi gaudia deserere, blandimenta sæculi relinquere, voluptates abjicere, grave erat ad suscipiendum sanctitatis officium consentire. Nam secundum instituta canonum non nisi ex eadem ecclesia pontifices eligi consueverant, et, nisi honestæ ac religiosæ conversationis esset, sedem sancti Aidani et sancti Cuthberti aliorumque sanctorum episcoporum nemo facile ausus fuerat conscendere. De hoc itaque illis conferentibus, supervenit ex eorum numero quidam bonæ actionis presbyter vocabulo Eadmundus, et unde agerent, vel cur tam tristes essent, requisivit. Et cum didicisset quod de episcopi electione tractarent, jocose alloquens, "Cur "me," inquit, "episcopum non eligitis?" At illi, scientes eum virum religiosum ac strenuum, jocum illius non jocose accipiebant, sed in ejus electione omnes concorditer intendebant. Ipse autem primo putavit illos secum jocari, sed ubi eos serio agnovit agere, graviter tulit, seque in nullo tanto gradu dignum reclamavit. Illis vero ut hoc susciperet insistentibus, "Ego," ait, "omnino me non esse idoneum agnosco, "veruntamen Deo nihil impossibile scio; ipsius et sancti "Cuthberti voluntas ut de me fiat exoro." Igitur cum ad tumbam sancti confessoris triduo precibus et jejuniis, sicut ante semper consueverant, intentius orarent, ut quem ad episcopatum vellet eligi aperto declararet indicio, religiosus quidam presbyter, cum missam prop-

The see is vacant three years.

Story about the election of Eadmund.

ter hoc ipsum indictam ad caput ipsius sancti[1] celebraret, in medio canone quasi de ipso patris sepulchro vocem audivit, quæ tribus vicibus Eadmundum episcopum nominavit. Mox presbyter genua suppliciter ante altare flexit; deinde se erigens, nihilominus eandem vocem sicut prius, Eadmundum ter episcopum nominantem audivit. Missa peracta, quæsivit a diacono qui ad altaris sacrificium ei astiterat, utrumne aliquid inter ipsa missæ secreta audisset. Respondens ille, "Ter," inquit, "nominari Eadmundum episcopum audivi, sed a quo "vox illa facta fuerit, scire non potui." Presbyter ergo, mirantibus et percunctantibus universis, cur in canone contra morem ecclesiæ genua flexisset, rem cum diacono sicut erat aperuit. Tunc omnes pariter Deum in sancto Cuthberto collaudantes, et gratias agentes, Eadmundum rapiunt, et ecclesiæ gubernacula suscipere compellunt. Hæc sane de illius electione quidam provecta ætate presbyter solet referre, quemadmodum ab avo suo, ipso scilicet diacono qui tunc Evangelium ad missam legerat, atque ipsam vocem audierat, sæpius se audisse testatur. Lib. III.

Who, first taking the monastic habit, is consecrated at Winchester.

Igitur Eadmundus multo cum honore ad regem Cnut deducitur, cujus electioni et ipse congaudens, solenniter eum ordinari præcepit. At ille cathedram prædecessorum suorum, qui monachi fuerant, nullo modo se posse ascendere fatebatur, nisi illos et ipse monachico habitu indutus imitaretur. Quapropter religioso habitu suscepto, honorifice a Wulstano Eboracensi archiepiscopo apud Wintoniam episcopus consecratur, multumque ab ipso rege diligitur et honoratur

On his return home he takes with him Egelric, a monk of Peterborough.

Rediens autem domum, ad monasterium Burch divertit, indeque postulans ab abbate accepit quendam monachum in ecclesiasticis officiis simul et regularis disciplinæ observantia excellenter institutum, qui ei semper individuo comitatu adhæreret, et monachicæ vitæ disciplinam edoceret. Vocabatur autem Egelricus, qui postea ejusdem, hoc est, Dunhelmensis ecclesiæ

[1] Desunt verba *ad . . . . . sancti* in ed. Twys.

Lib. III. fuerat episcopus. Igitur Eadmundus, nobili prosapia oriundus, persona simul et conversatione honorabilis, nemini de sua vita ullam pravæ suspicionis occasionem dederat, et in ecclesiæ regimine valde strenuum se exhibuerat. Ecclesiæ namque hostibus et pravis quibusque multum erat metuendus, bonis vero omnibus humilis et amandus. Nulli potentum timoris causa adulabatur, nullius violentia res ecclesiasticas pessundari patiebatur.

Cap. VII.

De Elfredo presbytero, quomodo in ecclesia sancti Cuthberti claruerit, et de capillo quem in igne posuit, et de reliquiis sacris pluribus quas, beato Cuthberto revelante, in Dunelmum comportavit.

Account of Elfred the priest.

Sub hoc antistite in ipsa ecclesia claruit quidam presbyter, qui piis et religiosis operibus magnæ apud sanctum Cuthbertum familiaritatis extiterat, vocabulo Elfredus, filius Westou,[1] qui usque tempus Egelwini episcopi permansit. Erat in omnibus sancto Cuthberto devotus, vir multum sobrius, eleemosinis deditus, in orationum studio assiduus, lascivis et impudicis terribilis, honestis vero et Deum timentibus venerabilis, custos ecclesiæ fidelissimus. Hunc etiam episcopi timuerunt offendere, quem sancto confessori tam familiarem noverant esse. Nam cum Egelricus episcopus, et qui ei successit frater Egelwinus, sed et illi qui cum eis erant monachi, cum rebus ecclesiæ quas rapuerant etiam sacras sanctorum reliquias vellent auferre, et ad sua monasteria transmittere, timor præfati sacerdotis eos ab hac injuria noscitur refrenasse. Singulis noctibus psalterium decantare, quo completo, ad vigilias nocturnas solebat signum pulsare. Sed et in pueris in Dei servitium educandis multum erat studiosus, quos quotidie cantu et lectione

His vigilance in guarding the relics.

[1] *filius Westou*, interl. D., manu fere coæva.

instituere, et ecclesiasticis officiis curabat informare. Lib. III.

He possessed a hair of St. Cuthbert which fire could not consume.

Hic habuerat unum de capillis sanctissimi patris Cuthberti, quem adventantibus sæpe amicis ostendere, et ex illo sanctitatem ejus mirantibus plus admirationis consuevit adjicere. Solebat namque, impleto prunis ardentibus turibulo, super eas ipsum capillum ponere, ubi diutius jacens, nequaquam consumi poterat, sed candescere, ac velut aurum in igne consueverat rutilare, indeque post longas moras sublatus, in propriam formam paulatim redire. Hoc sane miraculum multi discipulorum ejus, sed et quidam hujus monasterii frater, multæ simplicitatis et humilitatis, nomine Gamelo, qui nunc in Christo dormit, sæpius se vidisse attestati sunt.

He went about Northumbria, recovering the relics of saints;

Cum ergo presbyter præfatus honestam ac religiosam ageret vitam, jussus per visionem per antiqua monasteriorum et ecclesiarum loca in provincia Northanhymbrorum discurrit, ossa sanctorum, quæ in illis sepulta noverat, de terra elevavit, ac declaranda populis et veneranda, supra humum locata, reliquit; ossa videlicet Baltheri et Bilfridi anachoritarum, Accæ quoque et Alchmundi episcoporum Hagustaldensium, et regis Oswini, necnon etiam abbatissarum venerabilium Ebbæ et Ethelgithæ. De quorum omnium reliquiis aliquam secum partem in Dunhelmum asportavit, et cum patris Cuthberti corpore locavit. Ad Mailrosense quoque monasterium per revelationem admonitus proficiscens, ossa sancti Boisili, qui beati Cuthberti magister quondam in eodem monasterio extiterat, inde in ipsius discipuli ecclesiam transtulit et juxta illius corpus in altero scrinio decenter, sicut hactenus habentur, condidit. Ad monasterium quoque quod est in Gyrvum, ubi Bedam doctorem conversatum, defunctum, et sepultum noverat, singulis annis adveniente anniversaria dormitionis ejus die venire, ibique precibus et vigiliis solebat insistere Quodam tempore juxta morem illo pergens, cum

portions of which he brought to Durham.

From Melrose he obtained the bones of St. Boisil,

and abstracted from Jarrow those of the Venerable Beda.

Lib. III. aliquot ibidem dies solus in ecclesia orando et vigilando transegisset, nescientibus sociis summo diluculo solus, quod ante nunquam consueverat, Dunhelmum rediit, sui videlicet secreti nullum volens testem habere. Nam cum multis postea vixisset annis, ad præfatum monasterium, tanquam jam adeptus id quod concupiverat, amplius venire non curavit. Unde sæpius a suis familiariter requisitus, ubinam venerabilis Bedæ ossa requiescerent, certus de re inquisita sic erat solitus respondere. "Hoc," inquit, "nemo me certius "novit. Firmum, O dilectissimi, et procul omni "dubio certum habeatis, quod eadem theca quæ "sacratissimum corpus patris Cuthberti servat, etiam "ossa venerandi doctoris et monachi Bedæ contineat. "Extra hujus loculi hospitium, nemo quærat, portio- "nem ejus reliquiarum." Hæc dicens, familiares suos silentio præcepit tegère, ne scilicet extranei qui tunc in ecclesia ipsa conversabantur, injurias aliquas machinarentur, quorum summum erat studium reliquias sanctorum, et maxime Bedæ, si quas possent auferre. Unde cum ipse sanctorum ossa cum sancti Cuthberti corpore, ut supradictum est, locaret, id omnino occulte facere studebat. Cujus de Beda sententiæ concordat etiam illud Anglico sermone compositum carmen, ubi cum de statu hujus loci, et de sanctorum reliquiis quæ in eo continentur agitur, etiam reliquiarum Bedæ una cum cæteris ibidem mentio habetur. Cujus nimirum ea ossa fuisse noscuntur, quæ multis post annis cum incorrupto patris Cuthberti corpore, a cæteris reliquiis segregata in lineo sacello inveniebantur locata. Alia quoque multa memoriæ digna de supradicto viro narrantur, quæ specialiter illi sancto Cuthberto per manifestam visionem præcipiente faciebat, vel etiam ventura prænunciabat. Innocentia enim et pia illorum simplicitas qui per id temporis erant, plurimum apud ipsum sanctum confessorem valebat, unde semper illos ab hostibus de-

infra Auct. IV.

Capp. de Mir. vii. § 5.

The simplicity of the men of that day merited special protection from the saint.

fendere, et ab adversariis illatas injurias maturius solebat vindicare. Lib. III.

Cap. VIII.

Quanta Cnut rex sancto Cuthberto dederit.

Canute the Great venerates St. Cuthbert, and richly endows his monastery.

Hujus sancti præsulis et Deo digni confessoris Cuthberti ecclesiam, etiam pius et religiosus rex Anglorum Cnut multo venerabatur honore, in tantum ut ad ipsius sacratissimum corpus nudis pedibus, a loco qui via Garmundi dicitur,[a] id est, per quinque milliaria incedens veniret, et ei suisque servitoribus mansionem Standrope cum omnibus suis appendiciis libere in perpetuum possidendam donaret, id est, Cnapatun, Scottun, Rabi, Wacarfeld, Efenwuda, Alclit, Luteringtun, Elledun, Ingeltun, Ticcelea, Middeltun. Hæc itaque ea quidem ratione dedit, ut præter eos qui ipsi sancto in ecclesia deservirent, nemo se intromitteret. Eum autem qui aliter faceret, vel auferre, vel inde minuere præsumeret, rex ipse cum Eadmundo episcopo excommunicavit, et excommunicando discessuris in die judicii in ignem æternum associavit. Simili ratione idem rex et villam quæ Bromtun appellatur sæpe dicto sancto donavit.

Hist. de S. Cuth. § 32.

Cap. IX.

De obsessione Dunelmi, et celeri vindicta regis, et episcopi symoniaci, et de Egelrico episcopo qui thesauros beati Cuthberti sustulit, quomodo punitus sit.

A.D. 1035. The Scots lay siege to Durham without success. A.D. 1040.

Anno ab incarnatione Dom. MXXXV. defuncto Cnut, cum filius ejus Haroldus jam quintum annum in regno, et Eadmundus vicesimum in pontificatu gereret, Dunecanus rex Scottorum cum immensis copiis adveniens

[a] The name survives in Garmondsway Moor, a township about six miles S.E. of Durham.

Lib. III. Dunhelmum obsedit, et ad eam expugnandam multum quidem sed frustra laboravit. Nam magna parte equitum suorum ab his qui obsidebantur interfecta, confusus aufugit, fugiens pedites omnes interfectos amisit, quorum capita in forum collata in stipitibus sunt suspensa. Nec multo post ipse rex, cum jam in Scotiam rediisset, a suis[a] occisus interiit.

Cum autem Edmundus XXIII. annum sui pontificatus ageret, defunctus est in Glocestre cum apud regem ibidem moraretur, sed a suis corpus ejus, Dunhelmum perlatum, honorificæ sepulturæ est traditum. Quo facto, Eadredus, qui post episcopum secundus fuerat, præsulatum illius ecclesiæ primus ex ordine clericali festinabat obtinere. Siquidem sumpta ex thesauris ecclesiæ pecunia non modica, a rege, scilicet Hardecnut, episcopatum emit, sed episcopale officium facere illum divina ultio non permisit. Intraturus quippe ecclesiam subita infirmitate corripitur, decidensque in lectum, decimo mense moritur. Quo anno, scilicet incarnationis Dominicæ MXLII., et ipse rex mortuus est, succedente illi in imperium piissimo Eadwardo Ethelredi regis et Emmæ filio. Episcopatum vero Dunhelmensem ille cujus superius mentio facta est, Egelricus suscepit, Siwardo, cum jam Eadulfum comitem interfecisset, totius provinciæ Northanhymbrorum comitatum ab Humbra usque Twedam administrante. Tertio autem anno accepti episcopatus Ægelricus a clericis, eo quod extraneus esset, et contra voluntatem illorum electus, de ecclesia expulsus Siwardum comitem expetiit, et munere oblato ejus gratiam et auxilium contra obstinatos obtinuit. Illius enim timore ac potentia exterriti ac dejecti, sive volentes sive nolentes, compulsi sunt episcopo reconciliari, et in sedem sui pontificatus recipere. Habuerat autem episcopus secum fratrem suum monachum, vocabulo Egelwinum, qui sub eo totius episcopatus curam gerebat, et cum eo alios quoque monachos qui omnes una cum episcopo pecunias et

Death of bishop Eadmund.

A.D. 1042. Eadred buys the bishopric from Hardecanute, but dies within ten months.

Egelric, the Peterborough monk, succeeds.

A.D. 1045. Egelric is expelled by the clerks, but restored through the power of earl Siward.

[a] "*a suo duce*," Marian. Scot., i.e., by Macbeth.

ornamenta ecclesiæ minuere, et inde studuerant abstrahere. Lib. III.

A treasure found at Chester le Street is appropriated by Egelric;

Placuerat eidem antistiti ecclesiam in Cunecaceastre, quæ corrupte nunc Ceastre vocatur, de ligno factam destruere, et pro eo quod aliquando beati Cuthberti corpus ibidem quieverat, aliam de lapide fabricare. Cum ergo altius terra foderetur, grandis ibidem thesaurus est inventus, quem dudum propter avaritiam et tyrannidem Sexhelmi,[1] de quo supra dictum, secretarius et pauci cum eo ibidem dicuntur abscondisse. Episcopus itaque tollens ipsam pecuniam, ad monasterium unde ipse fuerat misit, quam illuc sequi omnino deliberavit. Præmissis[2] [a] enim auro et argento, aliisque rebus quas de ecclesia tulerat, decrevit episcopatum dimittere, et fratrem Egelwinum in locum suum substituere. Itaque piissimo rege Eadwardo quintumdecimum annum in imperio habente, auxilio et favore comitis Tostii, qui Siwardo successerat, Egelwinus in episcopatum sublimatur. Et Egelricus, cum jam quindecim annos in pontificatu egisset, ad monasterium suum revertitur, ibique in locis palustribus lapide et ligno vias constravit, et ecclesias, aliaque multa ex præfata pecunia fabricavit. Regnante autem postmodum Willelmo, accusatus apud illum quod multas de ecclesia Dunelmensi pecunias tulisset,[b] reddere noluit; unde[3] Lundoniam perductus, et custodiæ deputatus, in captione regis est defunctus.

A.D. 1057. who resigns the see and retires to Peterborough. His brother Egelwin succeeds him.

Egelric is accused of robbing the church of Durham; dies in prison.

[1] *Sexelmi*, F.
[2] *Satiatus*, F.
[3] *reddere noluit unde*, F. et cæteri codices; erasa sunt hæc verba in D.

[a] "Præmissis" is written in D. over an erasure; beyond a doubt "Satiatus" was originally written, as in F.

[b] According to the Worcester Chronicle (D.) Egelric was accused of treason, not peculation.

Cap. X.

Lib. III. *De presbytero nocte fornicante, et in crastino missas celebrante, quomodo particulam corporis cum sanguine in nigredinem conversam viderit, et percipiendo nimiam amaritudinem senserit.*

Quo adhuc pontificatum regente, res inusitate facta terribili exemplo ministris altaris proculdubio iram Dei ostendit imminere, si ad sacrosanctum mysterium sine castitate præsumant accedere. Quidam etenim presbyter, vocabulo Feoccher, non longe ab urbe habens ecclesiam habitabat; sed cum uxori copulatus esset, indignam sacerdotis officio vitam ducebat. Quadam die multi tam nobiles quam privati primo mane ad ipsum locum placitaturi convenerunt, sed ante placitum ut presbyter eis missam celebraret, rogaverunt. At ille qui ipsa nocte cum uxore dormierat, ad sacrum altaris officium accedere formidabat. Itaque negavit se id facturum. Illis autem semel, bis, terque rogantibus sibi missam celebrari, presbyter nimis ex utraque parte angustabatur, hinc verecundia, inde timore. Si enim eis non obediret, verecundabatur illos causam suspicari; si obediret, judicium timebat justi judicis Dei. Vicit tamen humana verecundia divinum timorem; itaque missam celebravit. Hora vero qua sacrosancta mysteria sumere deberet, in calicem introspexit, et ecce particulam Dominici corporis, quæ juxta morem missa fuerat in calicem, ita cum sanguine in teterrimam speciem commutatam vidit, ut, sicut postea fatebatur, magis in calice picis colorem quam panis et vini conspiceret. Illico reatum intelligens presbyter pallere, et quasi jam tunc flammis ultricibus tradendus cœpit nimium pavere. Præterea multum anxius erat, quid de hoc quod in calice viderat facere deberet. Exhorrebat illud velut suam mortem sumere. Volebat in terram effundere, sed quoniam

What happened to the priest Feoccher.

consecratum erat, id metuebat facere. Reputans ergo quoniam, quicquid faceret, Omnipotentis judicium effugere non valeret, magno cum tremore ac formidine illud sumpsit; sed tantæ amaritudinis fuit, ut nil ad gustandum amarius esse potuisset. Vix missa peracta, confestim equum ascendens ad episcopum festinavit, cujus pedibus prostratus rem ex ordine retulit. Cui indicta pœnitentia, præcepit ut si Deum sibi propitium habere vellet, sinceram deinceps et castam ei vitam offerre studeret. Quod presbyter libenter promisit, et promissum usque finem vitæ caste ac religiose vivendo custodivit. Hoc sane ita factum, sicut retulimus, ab ipsius presbyteri filio presbytero, et duobus capellanis episcopi qui postea nobiscum in hac ecclesia in monachili habitu conversati sunt, sicut ab ipso, in quo factum est, presbytero didicerant, frequenter referentibus audivimus.

Symeon's authorities for the above narrative.

Cap. XI.

Quomodo uxor Tosti comitis puellam in cœmiterium beati Cuthberti miserit, et mox infirmata in proximo obierit, et de imaginibus deargentatis.

Egelwin a plunderer of the church of Durham.

Suscepto episcopatu Egelwinus, nihilominus ecclesiæ nihil inferre, immo multo magis quam frater ejus ante illum ornamenta resque alias satagebat auferre. Verum, sicut exitus rerum edocuit, nec ipse hoc impune fecit. Sed de hoc paulo post dicemus. Illo pontificatum regente supradictus comes Tosti, cum Northanhymbrorum disponeret comitatum, in veneratione semper ecclesiam sancti Cuthberti habuit, et donariis non paucis, quæ inibi adhuc habentur, ornavit. Ipsa quoque conjux illius Judith, filia comitis Flandrensium Blandwini, honesta valde ac religiosa, multo plus sanctum Cuthbertum diligens, diversa illius ecclesiæ ornamenta contulerat, et adhuc plura cum multis terrarum possessionibus se donaturam promi-

Earl Tosti and his wife Judith hold St. Cuthbert in veneration.

Lib. III. serat, si ejus ecclesiam intrare et ad ipsius sepulchrum sibi liceret adorare. Sed tantam rem per se non ausa temptare, unam de pedissequis suis cogitaverat præmittere, ut si hoc ipsa impune facere posset, domina post sequens securior ingredi auderet. Puella ergo, dominæ suæ voluntate agnita, hora secretiori ad hoc temptandum conata est aggredi. Jam pedem intra cimiterium erat positura, cum subito veluti ventorum violentia repelli cœpit, et viribus deficere, et graviter infirmata vix ad hospitium valuit redire, decidensque in lectum gravi torquebatur cruciatu, tandem dolore cum vita caruit. Hoc facto comitissa vehementer exterrita contremuit, atque humiliter satisfaciendo imaginem crucifixi quæ, sicut in sequentibus dicetur, a raptoribus suo fuerat spoliata ornatu, imaginem quoque sanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ, et Johannis Evangelistæ, ipsa et ejus conjux fieri jusserunt, et auro argentoque vestierunt, aliaque perplura ad decorem ecclesiæ obtulerunt. Quo tempore et illud, quod alibi plenius legitur, super Barcwid miraculum contigit, qui dum pacem sancti perfringere vellet, repente vindicta percussus interiit.

Attempt of a woman to enter the church frustrated and punished.

Capp. de Mir., § 5.

Cap. XII.

De quodam in campo obdormiente cujus collum serpens constrinxit, sed introitu ecclesiæ sancti Cuthberti semper ab eo dissiliit, qualiter liberatus sit.

Fuit et alius pravæ actionis vir Osulfus vocabulo, in quo factum est hoc quod narrabimus, sicut a multis qui viderant quam sæpe audivimus. Quadam namque die, ubi in campo obdormiens expergefactus fuerat, serpentem sibi collum stringere sentiebat. Quem manu comprehendens in terram elidit, sed mox iterum ejus collum complexus circumdedit. Rursus eum ad terram projecit, sed eodem mox momento ab eodem constringebatur. Ita serpentem sive in ignem, sive in aquam, vel in terram semper projicere

The miracle of Osulf and the serpent.

potuit, sed qualiter mox in ejus collum redierit, scire non valuit. Aliquotiens etiam in particulas ferro consuevit dividere, sed protinus idem ipse serpens collum ejus videbatur constringere. Et imprimis quidem admodum parvus erat, sed paulatim in majus et majus excreverat, nec tamen ulla eum veneni infusione lædebat. Quotiens autem ecclesiam quam sanctissimi confessoris Cuthberti corporis præsentia illustrat, intravit, mox in ipso introitu serpens illum dimittebat, nec quamdiu in ecclesia morabatur, ad eum accedere audebat. Cum vero exiret, protinus collum ejus complectens stringebat. Itaque dum per multum tempus tale sustinuisset incommodum, invento tandem salubri consilio, tribus continue diebus ac noctibus in ecclesia orans perstitit, et postmodum exiens, a serpentis complexu deinceps liberatus in peregrinationem profectus est, nec unquam postea visus in patria. Lib. III.

Cap. XIII.

De quodam ad sepulchrum in ore denarios furante, qualiter sit punitus et restitutus.

The story of the man who stole the offerings at the shrine.

Eodem tempore quidam ad solenne sanctissimi confessoris festum cum domino suo venerat, qui, cum super sepulchrum, oblatione advenientium, multitudinem denariorum conspiceret, furtum animo concepit. Itaque accessit, et astantes fallendo, dum quasi sepulchrum oscularetur, quatuor vel quinque nummos ore attraxit. Nec mora; os illius cœpit intus vehementer ardere, adeo ut, sicut postea fatebatur, ferrum ex igne candens in ore portare sibi videretur. Respuere nummos volebat, sed nec aperire os poterat. Cum ita intolerabili cruciatu torqueretur, huc atque illuc per ecclesiam mutus discurrebat, atque omnes, dum insanire putabatur, in pavorem convertebat. Tandem per medium populi prorumpens de ecclesia, de loco ad locum se incessabiliter cursibus ferebat; et cum ore non

Lib. III. posset, horrendis motibus et nutibus graviter se cruciari cunctis ostendebat. Ad ultimum reversus in se, ad sepulchrum concite recurrit, et prostrato corpore tota cordis intentione veniam a sancto quæsivit, res quascunque habuerat obtulit. Cumque jam suam oblationem super sepulchrum ponens illud oscularetur, cum ipso osculo de illius ore nummi super sepulchrum ceciderunt. Taliter ab illo cruciatu liberatus, confestim equum ascendens quantocius abire festinavit, nec unquam postea Dunhelmum rediit. Nam cum sæpius ei a domino suo multa fuissent oblata, ut secum illo veniret, non solum non venire, sed nec tam prope, ut ecclesiam videret, ausus fuerat accedere.

Cap. XIV.

De donis Copsi comitis.

The benefactions of earl Copsi to the see.

Nec solum comes supradictus et illius uxor, sed etiam familiares illorum erga sancti Cuthberti ecclesiam multum devoti extiterant et munifici. Quorum quidam, vocabulo Copsi, qui sub Tosti totius comitatus curas gerebat, ecclesiam Sancti Germani in Merscum,[a] ab Egelrico episcopo dedicatam, et ipsam villam, aliasque infra subscriptas terras, sancto Cuthberto et ad sepulchrum ejus servituris in perpetuum donavit, atque illos qui eis aliquid ex his auferrent, cum episcopo et aliis qui affuerant cum diabolo damnandos excommunicavit. In Merscum decem carrucatas terræ et dimidiam. In Thorntun duas carrucatas terræ. In Theostcota decem bovetas terræ. In Readeclive dimidiam carrucatam terræ. In Gisburham unam carrucatam terræ. In cujus donationis signum etiam scyphum argenteum obtulit, qui in hac ecclesia servatus, æternam illius facti retinet memoriam. Hic

[a] Marsk in Cleveland, near Redcar; the church is to this day dedicated in honour of St. Germain.

idem Copsi postea, quamvis brevi tempore, provinciæ Northanhymbrorum, scilicet illorum qui ad septentrionalem plagam fluminis Tini habitant, [a] jubente Willelmo rege procurator est factus.[1] Lib. III. Hist. Reg. a. 1072.

Cap. XV.

De Edwardo rege, et Willelmo, et de Rodberto Cumin apud Dunelmum occiso, et quomodo aquæ maris irriguæ cesserint beati Cuthberti corpore ad insulam adveniente.

A.D. 1066. Death of Edward the Confessor.

Anno incarnationis Dominicæ MLXVI. piissimus rex Edwardus, XXIIII. regni sui anno nonas Januarii defunctus est, pro quo Haroldus regni solium ascendit; sed parvo tempore gubernavit. Ingruentibus enim undique adversis, contra fortissimum regem Norwegensium primo per duos comites, sed mox terga vertentes, deinde per seipsum non longe ab Eboraco iniit bellum. Ibi quidem victoria potitus; sed inde divertens contra potentissimum Normannorum comitem, qui jam in Angliam cum multo exercitu advenerat, dimicavit; sed cum toto pœne Anglorum exercitu occubuit. Willelmus autem regnum adeptus Anglorum, populos Northanhymbrorum diu rebelles sustinuit; quibus tertio regni sui anno quendam Rodbertum cognomine Cumin comitem præfecit. Quem illi ubi advenientem audierant, omnes relictis

A.D. 1068. Robert Cumin placed by William over Northumbria.

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[1] *habitant, comes factus est*, F.

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[a] Here we have the restricted meaning of the words Northumbria, Northumberland. The reason of this of course was, that the name Everwickshire (Yorkshire) gradually superseded the older words, Northumbria or Deira, so far as the country between the Humber and Tees was concerned. It nowhere occurs in the Saxon Chronicles, nor in the works of Malmesbury or Florence; but we shall meet with it twice in the curious tract *De Obsess. Dunelmi* printed below (*Auct.* III.), of which the date is about 1090; it is also used by Henry of Huntingdon.

Lib. III. domibus fugere parabant. Sed subito nivis tanta nimietas tantaque hiemis obvenit asperitas, ut omnem eis fugiendi possibilitatem adimeret. Quapropter omnibus idem fuit consilium, ut aut comitem extinguerent, aut simul ipsi caderent. Quod episcopus comiti occurrens nunciavit, atque ut reverteretur admonuit. At ille, qui suos rapinis et cædibus sævire permiserat, jam enim plures ecclesiæ rusticos interfecerant, datum est illi ne tunc consilium salutis audiret. Intravit ergo Dunhelmum cum septingentis hominibus, ubique per domos hostiliter agentibus. Summo autem diluculo Northanhymbrenses congregati per omnes portas irrumpunt, totaque urbe discursantes, socios comitis interficiunt. Tanta denique fuit interfectorum multitudo, ut omnes plateæ cruore atque cadaveribus replerentur. Supererant adhuc non pauci, qui ostium domus, in qua comes erat, defendentes, oppugnantium prohibebant accessum. Illi ergo, igne injecto, domum cum his qui intus erant conati sunt incendere. Itaque flammarum globis altius volitantibus, turris occidentalis quæ juxta stabat, jam jamque ab igne cremanda videbatur. Populis ergo genua flectentibus, et sanctum Cuthbertum ut ecclesiam suam a flammis illæsam servaret, rogantibus, continuo surgens ab oriente ventus globos flammarum ab ecclesia rejecit, atque longius omne abinde periculum repulit. Attamen domo ut cœperat ardente, qui intus erant, quidam concremati, alii vero, dum foras prorumperent, protinus sunt obtruncati.

He and his men killed in a sudden rising of the population.

Ita comite II.[1] Kal. Feb. cum suis omnibus, præter unum qui vulneratus evaserat, deleto, rex Willelmus graviter offensus ducem quendam cum exercitu, ut ejus mortem ulcisceretur, direxit. Cum autem ad Alvertoniam venissent, et jam mane facto Dunhelmum

A.D. 1069. The first punitive expedition miscarries.

[1] III. F.

profecturi essent, tanta nebularum densitas orta est, ut vix astantes sese alterutrum videre, viam vero nullo modo valerent invenire. Stupentibus illis cur hoc esset, et conferentibus invicem quidnam facerent, affuit quidam qui diceret homines illos quendam in sua urbe sanctum habere, qui eis semper in adversis protector adesset, quos nemo impune illo vindicante lædere unquam valeret. Quibus auditis, mox ad propria sunt reversi. Hi vero ad quos interficiendos missi fuerant, nihil ex hostibus antequam reversi fuissent agnoverunt. Atque ita factum est Deo eos per sanctum Cuthbertum miserante, ut prius inimicorum abscessum quam adventum audirent. Lib. III.

A.D. 1069. On the approach of William, bishop Egelwin, taking the relics, flees to Lindisfarne,

Attamem eodem anno rege Willelmo cum exercitu Eboracum veniente, et omnia circum circaque vastante, episcopus Egelwinus et majores natu, habito invicem consilio, incorruptum sanctissimi patris Cuthberti corpus, LXXV. anno ex quo ab Aldhuno in Dunhelmum perlatum est, tollentes, ad ecclesiam Lindisfarnensem cœperunt fugere. Et prima quidem nocte in ecclesia Sancti Pauli in Gyruum, secunda in Betlingtun, tertia in loco qui Tughala dicitur, mansit; quarto die ad ipsius insulæ aditum, comitante omni ejus populo, pervenit. Sed quoniam illo venerant circa vesperam, qua videlicet hora secundum tempus suum circumquaque plenum erat mare, episcopus et quique majores, sexui infirmiori et ætati teneriori, ne frigore hiemis, quæ solito asperior ingruerat, omnes nocte periclitarentur, (erat enim paulo ante Natale Dominicum,) condolentes et condolendo gementes, "Quid," inquiunt, "faciemus? Ne modo insulam intremus, "fluctuum altitudine prohibemur; nec, quo tantam "frigoris asperitatem declinemus, manendi locum "habemus." Illis ita gementibus, subito mare siccum eis introeundi aditum illo tantum loco recedens permisit, cum circumquaque plenissimum fluctuaret. Mox omnes ingressi, Deo laudes et beatis-

which he reaches in a wonderful manner.

Lib. III. simo confessori decantantes, siccis pedibus cum sacro sui patroni corpore insulæ littus attingebant. Hoc quoque in illo facto valde fuit mirabile, quod, sicut illi qui tunc feretrum portabant attestari solent, se præcedentes continuo fluctus marini sequerentur, ita ut nec paulatim euntibus præcurrerent, nec concite pergentibus diutius remanerent.

Instante autem quadragesima, tranquillitate reddita, sacrum corpus Dunhelmum reportaverunt, atque reconciliata solenniter ecclesia VIII. Kal. Aprilis,[1] [a] cum laudibus intrantes ecclesiam suo in loco illud reposuerunt. Invenerunt autem imaginem crucifixi in solum dejectam, et a suo ornatu quo a comite supradicto videlicet Tosti et ejus conjuge fuerat vestita, omnino spoliatam. Hanc enim solam ex ornamentis post se in ecclesia reliquerant, ob hoc videlicet quod difficile in fuga portari poterat, simul sperantes quod propter illam majorem loco reverentiam hostes exhibere vellent. Verum quidam illorum supervenientes, quicquid in ea auri et argenti vel gemmarum invenerant, penitus abstrahentes abierunt. Quo facto rex graviter indignatus, jussit eos perquisitos comprehendi, et comprehensos ad episcopum et presbyteros eorum judicio puniendos perduci. At illi, nihil eis triste facientes, permiserunt illæsos abire. Nec multo post, episcopatum regente Walchero, rex prædictus magnam auri argentique quantitatem, gemmas quoque pretiosas perplures ad ipsius imaginis ornatum transmisit, quibus episcopus partim ipsam, sicut hodie cernitur, vestiri fecit, partem pro rerum penuria in suos usos expendit.

In the following year the body is brought back to Durham.

Instance of rapine.

Munificence of William towards the see.

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[1] *atque ipsa die depositionis ejus, quæ est* XIII. *Kal. Aprilis*, F.

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[a] The words *reconciliata*...VIII. are over an erasure in D., evidently therefore F. has preserved the original reading.

Cap. XVI.

Lib. III.

De apparitione sancti Oswaldi, et beati Cuthberti, et subita morte Gillonis, et ab eis prædicta pœna ultionis.

Sed, ut parumper ad superiora redeatur, in fuga memorata, qua cum sancti patris corpore ad prædictam insulam fugerant, quidam ultra amnem Tinam præpotens, Gillomichael per contrarium, id est, puer Michaelis appellatus, nam rectius puer diaboli nuncuparetur, multas fugientibus injurias irrogavit, iter illorum impediendo, ipsos affligendo, prædas ex eis agendo, et quodcunque mali poterat faciendo. Sed non impune. Locato enim in insula sancto corpore, quidam ex clero provectæ ætatis ab episcopo domum remittebatur, ut videlicet qualiter se res circa Dunhelmum et illam ecclesiam haberet, diligenter exploraret. Ubi aliquantulum viæ peregerat, incumbente jam nocte paululum medio in campo requiescens obdormivit, ubi manifestam de interitu præfati viri visionem vidit, quam, sicut ipsius verbis frequenter audivimus, ita ex ordine hic scribendam esse judicavimus. "Ductus," inquit, "Dunhelmum in ecclesia, ut "mihi videbatur, astabam, ubi duos summæ auctoritatis viros ante altare versis ad orientem vultibus "assistere vidi. Alter ætatis mediæ vir, episcopalibus "solenniter vestimentis indutus, habitu venerando et "vultu honorabili magnæ reverentiæ pontificem se "monstrabat. Alter a dextris ejus assistens rubicundi coloris pallio circumamictus, facie paululum "producta, barba admodum tenui, statura procera, "pulcherrimi juvenis formam gerebat. Post aliquod "temporis intervallum, reflectentes ab altari oculos "per ecclesiam vertunt, cujus desertionem quasi "graviter ferens, episcopus ait, 'Væ tibi, Cospatrice,[a]

The crime of Gillomichael.

The clerk Earnan sees his punishment in a vision.

[a] This Cospatric was a great-grandson of king Ethelred II., whose daughter Elfgiva married Uctbred, son of Waltheof earl of Northumbria, and had by him a daughter, Aldgitha, who married Maeldred, and was the mother of Cospatric.

Lib. III. " 'væ tibi, Cospatrice, ecclesiam meam suis rebus " 'evacuasti, et in desertum convertisti.' Hic enim " Cospatricus hoc maxime consilium dederat, ut " fugientes ecclesiam relinquerent, et ipse maximam " ornamentorum ejus partem secum abduxerat. In- " terea dum, cupiens ad illos accedere, nequaquam " tamen auderem, juvenis ille digito innuens moderata " voce me nomine meo advocavit, et an nossem quæ " esset illa pontificalis persona interrogavit. Cui dum " me nescire responderem, 'Iste,' ait, 'est tuus domi- " 'nus, sanctus videlicet antistes Cuthbertus.' Con- " festim ad pedes ejus procidi, obsecrans, ut suæ " ecclesiæ atque suis miseriis subveniret. Aliquanto " post, inclinatis reverenter ad altare capitibus, lento " inde maturoque incessu simul procedebant. Atque " ubi ad ostium pervenerant, juvenis ille prior egre- " diens paulum processit, sed episcopus in ipso " ostio substitit. Qui respiciens, meque, qui a longe " sequebar, advocans, 'Dic,' inquit, 'Earnane, an nosti " 'quis sit juvenis ille?' Cui ego: 'Domine,' inquam, " 'non novi.' Et ille: 'Hic,' inquit, 'est sanctus Os- " waldus.' Inde simul ad australem plagam urbis " paulo longius progredientes, subsistunt, quo et ego " vocatus ab episcopo veni: jussusque deorsum re- " spicere, vallem infinitæ profunditatis plenam ani- " mabus hominum vidi. Ubi et memoratus Gillo- " michael pœnis atrocibus torquebatur; in locis enim " teterrimis prostratus jacebat, et fœnaria falce præ- " acuta ultra citraque transfossus, intolerabiles pati- " ebatur cruciatus. Clamabat miser, et diros ululatus " ac flebiles miserabiliter voces sine intermissione " emittebat. Nulla erat misero temporis interca- " pedo, qua vel ad horam a pœna respirare potuisset. " Similes cruciatus et cæteri omnes patiebantur. In- " quisitus a sancto Cuthberto an aliquem ibi ag- " noscerem, respondi me ibidem agnovisse Gillo- " nem. Et ille, 'Vere,' ait, 'hic est ipse. Mortu-

"us namque his miseriis et doloribus est deputa- Lib. III.
"tus.' At ego, 'Domine,' inquam, 'non est mortu-
"'us. Sero namque sanus et incolumis in domo
"'sua epulatus est, grandeque convivium nunc illis et
"'illis locis præparatum eum expectat.' At ille, 'Et
"ego,' inquit, 'dico, vere nunc mortuus est. Ipse enim
"'et alii quos cum eo vidisti, quoniam pacem meam
"'fregerunt, et mihi in meis injurias fecerunt, hos
"'cruciatus et hæc tormenta compelluntur sustinere.'
"His dictis evigilavi, statimque ascendens equum, hor-
"tatus sum socios, ut mecum festinarent. Mirantibus
"illis causam tam subitæ festinationis, præfatum homi-
"nem mortuum, et a quo illius mortem audierim,
"indicavi. Quod[1] illi credere noluerunt, et me quia
"credidi deriserunt. Itaqua tota nocte pergentes, mane
"facto, divertimus parumper de via ad proximam ec-
"clesiam audituri missam. Interrogatus, ut solet, a
"popularibus quos rumores afferrem, prædicti ho-
"minis mortem nunciavi. Illi vero, quoniam pridie
"sanum noverant, falsum me dicere respondebant.
"Sed mox quidam ex illius familia advenientes domi-
"num suum ipsa nocte mortuum nunciabant. Ego dili-
"genter coram omnibus horam mortis ejus inquirens,
"eadem noctis hora eum mortuum agnovi, qua
"illum horrendis cruciatibus traditum, sancto mihi
"ostendente Cuthberto, conspexi.

The earl Cospatric greatly disturbed on hearing of the vision.

"Cujus tormenta intolerabilia comiti Cospatrico, sed et ea quæ de illo a prædicto Sancto audieram, dum referrem, pavens ille intremuit; moxque nudis pedibus ad insulam, ubi sanctum corpus fuerat, incedens, veniam eorum quæ in eum deliquerat precibus et muneribus petivit. Verumtamen postea nunquam ei fuerat idem qui prius status honoris; expulsus enim de comitatu, multas, quamdiu vixit, adversantium rerum importunitates et afflictiones pertulit."

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[1] F.; *quo*, D.

b. III.

Cap. XVII.

De Egelwino episcopo qui partem thesauri tulit, quomodo reductus sit et captus.

Reportato in Dunhelmum, sicut jam dictum est, beatissimi Confessoris corpore, Egelwinus[a] xv. sui episcopatus anno partem thesaurorum ecclesiæ asportans, Angliam relicturus navem ascendit. Sed cum jam cupito itinere versus Coloniam navigaret, vento repulsus in Scotiam ibidem hiemavit. Inde proficiscens, apud Elig ab hominibus regis capitur, et usque Abendunam perductus ex præcepto regis diligenti custodia tenetur. Admonitus frequenter reddere ea quæ de ecclesia tulerat, nihil se inde accepisse juramento affirmabat. Sed dum quadam die manducaturus manus lavaret, ex illius brachiis armilla usque manum cunctis intuentibus delabens, manifesto perjurio episcopum notabat. Itaque jubente rege in carcerem detruditur, ubi, dum ex nimia cordis anxietate comedere nollet, fame ac dolore moritur.

A.D. 1072. Bishop Egelwin, taken with stolen property of the church in his possession, is sent to Abingdon and dies there.

Cap. XVIII.

De electione Walcheri episcopi, sed tamen clerici.

Cum vero post illius decessum ecclesia per annum pontificali ministerio vacasset, anno ab incarnatione Domini MLXXII.[1a] qui est annus regni Willelmi vii., Walcherus de gente Hlothariorum, natu nobilis, divina et seculari scientia non mediocriter institutus, ab ipso rege eligitur, et ad pontificatum ecclesiæ sancti Cuthberti

A.D. 1072. Appointment of bishop Walcher, who alone, of all the bishops since Aidan, was not a monk.

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[1] D. F. ; M LXXXII, Twys.

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[a] Respecting this Aylwin, equally with his brother Egelric, (ante ch. 9, note,) the Worcester chronicle leaves us under the distinct impression that the cause of his arrest and detention at Abingdon was nothing of the kind alleged by Symeon, but was simply political. It is manifest that both brothers were deeply implicated in the great northern movement.

[a] It should be 1071 ; see below, ch. 24, "peractis in episcopatu . . " . . . IX. annis et duobus men-" sibus."

consecratur; vir venerandæ canitiei, sobrietate morum Lib. III. et honestate vitæ tali dignus honore. Ipse quidem, excepto illo, de quo supradictum est, simoniaco, et post aliquot menses mortuo, primus post Aidanum ex clericali ordine ipsius ecclesiæ suscepit præsulatum; sed vitæ laudabilis conversatione religiosum præferebat monachum. Qui cum clericos ibidem inveniret, clericorum morem in diurnis et nocturnis officiis eos servare docuit. Nam antea magis consuetudines monachorum in his imitati fuerant, sicut a progenitoribus suis, ut supradictum est, qui inter monachos nutriti et educati extiterant, hæreditaria sempert raditione didicerant.

cap. 9. supra.

Cap. XIX.

De rege Willelmo qui beati Cuthberti corpus an Dunelmo quiesceret explorare voluit, qualiter punitus et fugatus sit.

William the Conqueror wishes to ascertain whether the body of the saint is really at Durham.

Exacto tempore aliquanto, rex supradictus de Scotia, quo cum exercitu venerat, rediens Dunhelmum intravit; et diligenter interrogans an corpus beati Cuthberti ibidem requiesceret, cunctis vociferantibus et jurantibus illud ibi haberi, credere noluit. Decrevit ergo rem visu explorare, habens secum episcopos et abbates, qui, eo jubente, id deberent perficere. Jam enim disposuerat, ut si sanctum ibi corpus inventum non esset, nobiliores et natu majores universos obtruncari præciperet. Omnibus itaque paventibus, et Dei misericordiam per sancti Cuthberti merita implorantibus, in ipsa Omnium Sanctorum festivitate prædicto episcopo missam celebrante, rex, cum id quod animo conceperat jam jamque perficere vellet, repente nimio calore cœpit æstuare, et æstuando fatigari, ut vix tolerare tantum calorem potuisset. Festinans ergo de ecclesia exire, relictoque quod ingenti copia præparatum fuerat convivio, equum confestim ascendit, et quousque ad Tesam veniret, in cursum urgere non cessavit. Quo indicio magnum Dei confessorem Cuthbertum ibi requiescere fatebatur, et populum, Deo prohibente, lædere non permittebatur.

His sudden departure before the inquiry can be made.

Lib. III.

Cap. XX.

Quomodo rex Willelmus Ranulphum miserit ut terram sancti Cuthberti sub tributo redigeret, sed beato Cuthberto vindicante furiosus sit effectus, et restitutus, et de privilegiis Willelmi regis.

Post tempus aliquod quendam vocabulo Rannulfum illo miserat, qui ipsius Sancti populum regi tributum solvere compelleret. Quod illi graviter ferentes, scilicet quod novas consuetudines cogerentur subire, consuetum in adversis sancti Cuthberti auxilium studebant inquirere. Nocte igitur, qua finita tributum populo erat impositurus, beatus Cuthbertus ei per somnium assistens, baculo pastorali quem manu gestabat illum impulit, et auctoritate pontificali et vultu minaci increpavit, quod illuc ad populum suum affligendum ausus fuerit venire, dicens quod non impune hoc præsumpserit, et, nisi cito recederet, pejora passurus esset. Itaque de somno evigilans, tanta detinebatur infirmitate, ut nullo modo de stratu valeret resurgere. Mox coram omnibus quæ viderat et audierat narravit, et ut pro se apud sanctum confessorem intercederent, humiliter rogavit, deinceps nil tale in ejus populum præsumpturus, si modo evaderet vivus. Mittens ergo ad ejus sepulchrum pallium, quod hucusque in hac ecclesia in hujus facti memoriam servatur, se illi et suis omnibus fidelem ac devotum servum fore promisit, si nunc culpam et culpæ pœnam sibi dimittere dignaretur. Verum invalescente infirmitate, per diversa episcopatus loca in feretro se circumferri fecit, reatumque suum et vindictam ubique omnibus ostendit. Qui, quamdiu in locis ad episcopatum pertinentibus morabatur, gravi jugiter ægritudine laboravit; cum vero, ea derelinquens, ad propria remeare cœpisset, confestim ab infirmitate convaluit.

Ranulph the tax-gatherer, sent to Durham to collect tribute, is seized with illness,

and does not recover till he leaves the diocese.

The Conqueror venerates St. Cuthbert, and makes large gifts to his church.

His et aliis virtutum miraculis per sanctum Cuthbertum declaratis, rex ipse Willelmus sanctum confessorem et illius ecclesiam in magna semper veneratione habuit, et regiis muneribus honoravit, terrarum quoque illius possessiones augmentavit. Nam et Billingham, quam olim ab Ecgredo episcopo conditam sancto Cuthberto diximus, quam violentia malignorum abstulerat, ipse rex ecclesiæ restituit, et pro sua suorumque filiorum salute ad victum in ipsa ecclesia sancto Cuthberto ministrantium quietam, et ab omni aliorum consuetudine liberam in perpetuum possidendam donavit. Leges quoque et consuetudines ipsius Sancti, sicut antiqua regum auctoritas stabilierat, ipse quoque suo consensu et auctoritate confirmavit, et illibatas ab omnibus servari imperavit.

Lib. III.
Lib. II., c. 5.

Cap. XXI.

Qualiter Aldwinus de Wincencumb cum duobus fratribus de Eovesham in Northanhymbriam advenerint, et quomodo ab episcopo Walchero suscepti sint et fructificaverint.

A holy monk of Winchcombe, Aldwin by name,

His temporibus quidam in provincia Merciorum presbyter, ac prior in monasterio quod in Wincelcumbe situm est, habitu et actione monachus, vocabulo Aldwinus, habitabat, qui voluntariam paupertatem et mundi contemptum cunctis seculi honoribus ac divitiis prætulerat. Didicerat ex historia Anglorum quod provincia Northanhymbrorum crebris quondam choris monachorum ac multis constipata fuerit agminibus sanctorum, qui in carne non secundum carnem viventes cœlestem in terris conversationem ducere gaudebant Quorum loca, videlicet monasteria, licet jam in solitudinem sciret redacta, desideravit invisere, ibique ad imitationem illorum pauperem vitam ducere. Perveniens ergo ad Eoveshamense monasterium, desiderium suum

[...]p. III. quibusdam ex fratribus patefecit, e quibus duos mox in sui propositi societatem sibi adjunxit, quorum alter diaconus, postea presbyter, Elfwius, alter ignarus litterarum vocabatur Reinfridus. Quibus abbas ipsorum non aliter abeundi licentiam dare voluit, nisi prius Aldwinum eis præponeret, et curam animarum illorum ipsi commendaret. Perrexerunt itaque simul pedibus incedentes tres monachi, unum tantummodo secum ducentes asellum, quo libri necessarii et vestimenta sacerdotalia ad divinum celebrandum mysterium ferebantur. Et primo quidem super ripam Tini fluminis ad plagam septentrionalem, in loco qui dicitur Munecaceastre, quod monachorum civitas appellatur, habitare cœperunt; qui locus, licet ad episcopatum Dunhelmensem pertineat, juris tamen Northanhymbrorum comitis habetur. Quapropter venerandus pontifex Walcherus, ad illos mittens, rogavit ut ad se venirent, et sub jure potius ecclesiæ quam sub potestate secularium manendi locum acciperent. Quos advenientes multo cum honore et gaudio suscepit, magnasque Deo gratiarum actiones retulit, quod in hac provincia monachicæ professionis viros ad habitandum suscipere, et sub regimine suo meruisset habere. Dedit ergo eis monasterium beati Pauli apostoli, a Benedicto quondam abbate constructum in Gyrvum, quod stantibus adhuc solis sine culmine parietibus vix aliquod antiquæ nobilitatis servaverat signum. Quibus culmen de lignis informibus et fœno superponentes, divinæ servitutis officia ibidem celebrare cœperunt; factaque sub ipsis parietibus casula, ubi dormirent et manducarent, religiosorum eleemosinis pauperem vitam sustentarunt. Ibi pariter in frigore ac fame et rerum omnium penuria pro Christo residentes degebant, qui in monasteriis quæ reliquerant omnem rerum affluentiam habere poterant. Interea multi exemplo illorum provocati, sæculo abrenuntiantes, monachicum ab eis habitum susceperunt, et sub disciplinæ regularis institutione Christo militare didicerunt. Quorum pauci de ipsa Northanhymbrorum provincia,

with two companions from Evesham,

settling at Muncaster, endeavours to revive the monastic life in Northumbria.

Bishop Walcher induces them to remove to Jarrow, and gives them the old monastery there.

plures vero de australibus Anglorum partibus fuerant, Lib. III. qui exemplo Abrahæ de terra sua et de cognatione sua et de domo patrum suorum egredientes, terram repromissionis, id est, supernam patriam ingredi desiderabant, religiosæ conversationis magistrum habentes Aldwinum. Erat namque mundi contemptor egregius, habitu et mente humillimus, patiens in adversis, modestus in prosperis, ingenio acutus, consilio providus, sermone gravis et actione, humilibus socius, contra contumaces justitiæ zelo fervidus, semper cœlestia desiderans, et secum quoscunque poterat illuc provocans. Igitur episcopus, videns numerum Deo ibidem servientium quotidie augeri, et jam per multa annorum volumina in illis partibus extinctam monachicæ conversationis reviviscere suo tempore lucernam, gratias agens Deo vehementer exultavit, et pastoralem illis sollicitudinem, et paternam cum omni affectu impendebat benignitatem. Cum enim eos ecclesiam ipsam reædificare et destructa monachorum habitacula videret velle restaurare, dedit eis ipsam villam Gyrvum cum suis appenditiis, scilicet Preostun, Munecatun, Heathewurthe,[1] Heabyrm, Wivestou, Heortedun, ut et opera perficere, et sine indigentia ipsi possent vivere. Taliter illi ex diversis locis Christo pastore congregante in unum ovile adducti, didicerunt quam bonum sit et quam jocundum habitare fratres in unum.

Character of Aldwin.

Generous kindness of the bishop.

Cap. XXII.

De fratre ad Streneshalch pergente, et de fundamine ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ Eboraci, et quo modo Walcherus iterum Aldwinum revocaverit et Wiremuthe cum cœteris terris eis adjecerit.

Revival of monasteries at other places.

Cum autem famulus Christi Aldwinus ibidem, sicut jam dictum est, aliquatenus fructificasset, ad alia

[1] D; *Heawurthe*, F.

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b III. quoque loca cogitavit transire, et simile opus Domino adjuvante perficere. Igitur, constituto fratribus quem communiter ipsi elegerant priore, proficiscens inde reliquit ibidem socium suæ peregrinationis, de quo supradictum est, Elfwium, virum simplicitatis et innocentiæ merito prædicandum, orationibus et lachrymis jugiter intentum. Tertius vero illorum socius, videlicet Reinfridus, ad Streoneshalch, quod Hwitebi appellatur, secessit, ubi advenientes suscipiens, monachorum habitationem instituere cœpit; qui post ejus obitum, migrantes Eboracum, monasterium in honorem Sanctæ Mariæ semper Virginis, quod nunc abbas Stephanus strenue regit, construxerunt. At Aldwinus, de Gyrwensi monasterio egrediens, comitem itineris et propositi in clericali adhuc habitu Turgotum habuit, amore tamen et actu vitam monachorum imitantem. Veniens enim Dunhelmum, benigne ab episcopo susceptus; et cum ejus intentionem agnovisset, ad præfatum monasterium ab eo missus est, ibique sub magisterio Aldwini clericus inter monachos degebat. Non enim habitum monachicum prius suscipere audebat, quam majori ac diuturniori sese districtione probasset.[a] Hic magistrum de monasterio, ut dictum est, proficiscentem secutus, individuo illi comitatu semper adhærebat. Igitur ad Mailrosense quondam monaste-

Reinfrid, after a short stay at Whitby, founds St. Mary's abbey at York.

The clerk Turgot sent by the bishop to Aldwin.

Aldwin and Turgot go

[a] There is an erasure at this point the extent of three lines in the Durham MS.; from the Cambridge MS. used by Twysden, and from Laud 700, the passage is simply absent. It is, however, extant in the Cottonian MS., F., and runs as follows: "Ipse est qui in locum "magistri, videlicet Aldwini suc-"cedens, hodie in hac, id est, Dun-"helmi ecclesia dudum sibi tradi-"tum a Willelmo episcopo priora-"tum tenet." This passage must have been written before 1109, in which year prior Turgot was made bishop of St. Andrew's. It is easy to understand that later copyists, in whose days the words were no longer applicable, should have omitted them; rather perhaps the probability is that Symeon himself erased them after Turgot's departure in 1109, yet not so early but that the compiler of F. had already made his transcript, in which the passage is retained.

to Melrose, but are annoyed by king Malcolm.

rium, tunc autem solitudinem, pervenientes, secreta Lib. III. illius loci habitatione delectati, Christo ibidem servientes cœperunt conversari. Sed cum regi Scottorum Malcolmo,[1] ad quem locus ipse pertinebat, eorum ibi conversatio innotuisset, graves ab illo injurias et persecutiones pertulerunt, pro eo quod, evangelicum præceptum servantes, jurare illi fidelitatem noluerunt.

The bishop recalls them to Durham and settles them at Wearmouth

Inter hæc venerabilis episcopus Walcherus frequentibus eos litteris et mandatis rogavit, monuit, adjuravit, ad ultimum cum clero et omni populo coram sacratissimo sancti Cuthberti corpore sese illos excommunicaturum minatur, nisi ad se sub sancto Cuthberto mansuri reverterentur. Illi ergo excommunicationem magis quam iram regis, quæ mortem eis minabatur, formidantes, nam mori tunc omnino statuerant, locum illum reliquunt, ad episcopum perveniunt. Quibus statim monasterium beati Petri Apostoli in Wiramuthe donavit, olim, sicut habitator ejus ab infantia Beda describit, egregium satis ac nobile; tunc autem, quid antiquitus fuerit, vix per ruinam ædificiorum videri poterat. Ubi de virgis facientes habitacula, quoscunque poterant arctam et angustam viam, quæ ducit ad vitam, secum ingredi docere studebant. Ibi Aldwinus Turgoto monachicum habitum tradidit, et ut carissimum in Christo fratrem diligens, verbo et exemplo jugum Christi suave illum portare docuit. Quos episcopus familiari caritate amplectens, sæpius ad colloquium suum evocavit; et interdum suis adhibens consiliis, libentissime illorum dictis dignatus est obedire. Donaverat autem illis ipsam villam Wiramutham, cui postea successor ejus Willelmus aliam proximam, videlicet Suthewic, adjecit, ut, cum his qui secum erant fratribus, sine magna difficultate ibidem in Christi famulatu possent perseverare. Nam etiam de remotis Anglorum partibus illuc aliqui advenientes, monachi-

Turgot takes the habit.

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[1] D. F.; *Malcolino*, Twys.

b. III cam cum eis vitam agere, et uno corde ac una anima Christo didicerunt servire. Tunc ecclesiam Sancti Petri, cujus adhuc soli parietes semiruti steterant, succisis arboribus, eradicatis vepribus et spinis, quæ totam occupaverant, curarunt expurgare: et culmine imposito, quale hodie cernitur, ad agenda divinæ laudis officia sategerant restaurare.

St. Peter's church at Wearmouth restored. A.D. 1075.

Plane a tempore quo a paganis ecclesiæ in provincia Northanhymbrorum eversæ, et monasteria sunt destructa atque incensa, usque tertium annum præsulatus Walcheri, quando per Aldwinum in ipsam provinciam venientem monachorum in illa cœpit habitatio reviviscere, CCVIII. computantur anni. Igitur episcopo protegente placidam et quietam vitam monachi duxerunt, quos ille, ut pater benignissimus, toto affectu fovere, et sæpius per semetipsum dignatus est invisere, et ea quibus indigebant sibi largius præbere. Hic quoque, si diuturniora hujus vitæ tempora extitissent, monachus fieri, et monachorum habitationem ad sacrum corpus beati Cuthberti stabilire decreverat. Unde positis fundamentis, monachorum habitacula ubi nunc habentur Dunhelmi construere cœpit; sed heu, proh dolor! morte præventus, quod disposuerat perficere nequivit, quod tamen ejus successor, sicut in sequentibus demonstrandum est, perfecit.

The new foundations flourish under the fostering care of the bishop, who wishes to become a monk himself, and build a cathedral for St. Cuthbert, but is prevented by death.

Cap. XXIII.

De provectu episcopi, et suorum rapina feroci, et qualia tunc quidam de morte reviviscens de episcopo et cæteris multis viderit et prædixerit.

Hujus strenuitas pontificis, videlicet Walcheri, non solum nullum rerum ecclesiasticarum passa est detrimentum, verum etiam in earum augmentum, dante sibi rege, locum egregium, scilicet Waltham cum ipsius nobili ecclesia, quæ canonicorum congregatione pollet,

The king gives Waltham to the see, and the earldom of Northumbria to Walcher,

A.D. 1075. adquisivit. Comitatum quoque Northanhymbrorum, capto a rege comite Waltheof, ipse susceperat disponendum. Et ille quidem per vitæ honestatem, et morum sobrietatem, atque mansuetudinem omnium amore dignus erat; veruntamen, quoniam suos, licenter quæ voluissent et hostiliter nonnulla facientes, non refrænabat, indigenarum animos offendebat. Denique archidiaconus illius, multa ex ornamentis pecunia et ecclesiæ auferens, consanguineis et amicis distribuerat. Milites quoque nimis insolenter se in populo habentes, multos sæpius violenter diripiebant, aliquos etiam ex majoribus natu interficiebant. Quorum pravitates episcopus cum negligeret, et nulla censuræ pontificalis auctoritate coerceret, sicut Heli quondam propter culpas filiorum interiit, sic et iste propter peccata suorum una die cum illis prostratus occubuit. Lib. III.

who, not restraining the excesses of his followers, becomes unpopular.

The story of the resuscitation of Eadulf.

Sed paulo ante illius mortem idem pœne miraculum in provincia Northanhymbrorum contigit, quod olim ibidem evenisse Beda in historia Anglorum describit, ut videlicet quidam de morte resurgeret ad vitam. Qui, vocabulo Eadulfus, non longe a Dunhelmo in villa quæ Ræveneswurthe dicitur habitans, in ægritudinem decidit, qui sabbato quidem, jam die in noctem declinante, mortuus est; sed mane ante solis ortum de morte reviviscens, ac subito residens, omnes qui ad suas exequias assederant pavore nimio ac tremore perculsos in fugam vertit. Sed ille fugientes revocans, "Nolite," inquit, "timere; vere a morte surrexi. "Signo sanctæ crucis vos et domum hanc signate." Quo dicto, innumera mox multitudo avicularum de exteriori æde per ostium erumpens, totam domum in qua sederunt, replevit, quæ nimia importunitate huc atque illuc volitantes, ipsis pœne oculis intuentium se ingerebant. Currens ergo diaconus, quem presbyter ad ecclesiam rediens ibi dimiserat, aqua benedicta ipsos et domum respersit; nec mora, omnis illa mon-

III. struosa volucrum multitudo ut fumus ex oculis disparuit. Is autem qui de morte surrexerat, multa de beatitudine justorum, et de pœna damnatorum, quæ de corpore ductus viderat, retulit. Denique aliquos quos ante noverat cum beatis in sedibus florigeris lætantes se recognovisse dicebat, quibusdam quos adhuc præsens vita retinebat gehennalis tormenti æternos cruciatus jam paratos nunciabat. Horum unus Waltheof habebatur, qui postea cædis episcopi auctor fuerat, de quo ille quæ viderat referens, "Væ," inquit, "væ illi. In ipsius infernalis camini medio præparata "est ei mansio. Sedile ferreum æterno igne ignitum "eum expectat, quod stridentibus undique flammis "multo fragore, inextinguibiles jugiter scintillas crepi-"tat. Stant hinc et inde cum catenis ferreis horri-"biles ministri, spiritus videlicet maligni, in illam "sedem Waltheofum jam jamque suscepturi, et in "æterni ignis incendium atrocius miserum vinculis "insolubilibus coarcturi."[1] His dictis, ubinam episcopus et archdiaconus ejus cum suis essent, requisivit. Cui cum dictum esset, in Dunhelmo, ille respondens, "Omnes," inquit, "illi jam perierunt. Episcopus jam "defecit, suique omnes qui nunc extolluntur superbia, "jam non esse reputati sunt." At hi qui assederant, scientes episcopum cum suis omnibus incolumem, putabant illum hæc non sana mente dicere. Quos iterum alloquens, "Ego," ait, "sanum sapio, atque hoc signo "an vera sint quæ dico probare poteritis. Si ante "vel post proximam feriam tertiam mortuus fuero, "scitote universa esse falsa quæ a me audistis: sin "autem in ipsa feria moriar, vera me locutum pro-"culdubio noveritis." Itaque, instante feria tertia, ille defunctus est. Nec multo post, repentina episcopi et suorum omnium interfectione, ea quæ ille prædixerat vera esse manifestius rerum effectus edocuit. Sed et

Waltheof, the slayer of the bishop.

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[1] F.; *coarturi*, D.

ille miserabilis, cui tanta gehennæ tormenta jam præparata viderat,[1] scilicet Waltheof,[a] post impiam tanti pontificis occisionem, et ipse a suæ uxoris fratre pœnas inferni subiturus occiditur. Lib. III.

Cap. XXIV.

Qualiter episcopus Walcherus et ubi occisus atque sepultus sit, et quomodo pro eo vindicatum, et ecclesia beati Cuthberti spoliata sit.

A.D. 1080. Murder of bishop Walcher at Gateshead.

Ut autem, qualiter nefanda episcopi cædes[2] peracta sit, ex ordine retexatur, statuto die, quo et hi, scilicet milites antistitis qui fecerant injurias, et qui passi fuerant, in pacem redirent et concordiam, episcopus ipse cum suis ad locum qui Ad Caput Capræ dicitur, convenit, cui qui ultra Tinam habitaverant universi natu majores, cum infinita totius populi multitudine, in pessimum adunati consilium occurrerunt. Declinans episcopus tumultum, ecclesiolam ipsius loci intravit, ubi convocatis ad se populi primatibus, de utriusque partis utilitate ac mutua amicitia tractavit. Quo facto, episcopo cum paucissimis suorum in ecclesia remanente, omnes qui advocati fuerant, quasi consilio locuturi, egrediuntur; et post paululum, clamore tumultuantis turbæ exorto, fit subito sine ullo humanitatis respectu miserabilis ubique cædes hominum. Alii namque milites episcopi, sparsim per loca sedentes vel jacentes, utpote nihil mali suspicantes, repente circundantes interficiunt. Alii ascendentes ecclesiam incendunt; alii evaginatis gladiis et vibrantibus hastis conglobatim ad ostium stantes, neminem vivum exire

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[1] *prædixerat*, F.

[2] D. F.; *sedes*, Twys.

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[a] In the *Hist. Regum*, a. 1072, Eadulf Rus, a grandson of Ucthred earl of Northumbria, is named as the supposed slayer of the bishop.

Lib. III. permittunt. Nam qui intus erant, cum jam vim flammarum sustinere non possent, humiliter peccata confessi percepta benedictione cum jam egrederentur, in ipso egressu mox trucidabantur. Ultimus omnium restabat episcopus, graviores ipsa morte sustinens in corde dolores. Intolerabile illi fuit quod suos cum presbyteris et diaconibus ante se vidit extinctos; sciebat, quod nec sibi manus hostium parceret. Inter hæc diversa mortis pœna coartatur, ut quam magis eligat, ipse nesciat. Ignis eum ad arma hostium fugere compellebat, arma repellebant ad ignem. Mors dilata fuerat ei gravior pœna; levamentum doloris videbatur ferre, quicquid mortem citius posset inferre. Cum ergo sævientium flammarum vires jam ulterius ferre nequivisset, precibus Deo animam commendans, ad ostium processit, factoque digitis e contra signo crucis, cum jam pallio quo erat indutus oculos et caput velaret, in ipso ostio, heu, proh dolor! lanceis confoditur, cui etiam mortuo crebra gladiis vulnera infliguntur. Tanta namque fuerat eorum bestialis crudelitas, ut nec eo mortuo satiari potuisset. Hæc detestanda omnibus cædes antistitis, pridie Idus Maii feria quinta ante Rogationes facta est, peractis in episcopatu suo IX. annis et duobus mensibus.[a]

The monks of Jarrow take up his body.

Cujus occisione audita, fratres Gyrwensis monasterii, ascendentes naviculam, ad locum navigarunt, et corpus patris sui et antistitis, vix propter vulnerum frequentiam agnitum, et penitus omni tegmine spoliatum, cum gravi luctu impositum navi ad monasterium detulerunt. Quod Dunhelmum inde perlatum, non eo quo pontificem decebat funeris obsequio sepulturæ est traditum. Tota namque urbe discursantes illius interfectores

[a] The narrative of the murder in the *Hist. Regum*, taken from Florence, is fuller and more logical than that here given. The Saxon Chronicle despatches it in three lines. Malmesbury's account in the *Gest. Pont.* reads like an abridgment of Florence

A.D. 1080. furebant, statim enim post illam abhominandam cædem illo advenerant, ut expugnato castello homines episcopi qui supererant perimerent. At his viriliter se defendentibus, illi non sine suorum detrimento frustrato labore oppugnantes fatigabantur. Quarto die obsidionis abscedentes, per diversa disperguntur, et universi quos nefanda cædes antistitis Deo et hominibus detestabiles fecerat, aut varia clade consumuntur, aut relictis domibus et possessionibus incertis profugi sedibus[1] exules vagantur. Lib. III.

Odo bishop of Bayeux, with a Norman force, comes to Durham; cruelties committed by them.

Nec mora; ea quæ gesta fuerant fama ubique divulgante, Odo Baiocensis episcopus, qui tunc a rege secundus fuerat, et multi cum eo primates regni cum multa armatorum manu Dunhelmum venerunt, et, dum mortem episcopi ulciscerentur, terram pene totam in solitudinem redegerunt. Miseros indigenas, qui sua confisi innocentia domi resederant, plerosque ut noxios aut decollari, aut membrorum detruncatione præceperunt debilitari. Nonnullis, ut salutem et vitam pretio redimerent, crimen falso imponebatur. Quædam etiam ex ornamentis ecclesiæ, inter quæ et baculum pastoralem materia et arte mirandum, erat enim de saphiro factus, præfatus episcopus abstulit, qui, posito in castello militum præsidio, protinus abscessit.

Odo abstracts a crosier.

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[1] D. F.; *cædibus*, Twys.

LIBER QUARTUS.

Cap. I.

Qualiter Willelmus episcopus electus et sacratus sit, et quantæ vir scientiæ, probitatis, et gratiæ fuerit.

Transactis post occisionem Walcheri episcopi sex mensibus et decem diebus, anno imperii Willelmi XV., abbas monasterii sancti martyris Vincentii, Willelmus, ab ipso rege electus, episcopatum Dunhelmensis ecclesiæ quinta idus Novembris suscepit regendum: ordinatio vero illius aliquanto post, id est, tertio nonas Januarii, videlicet in octavis sancti Johannis evangelistæ, die Dominica, præsente rege et episcopis totius Angliæ astantibus, ab archiepiscopo Eboracensi Thoma solenniter est adimpleta.

A.D. 1080. William of St. Carilef is elected bishop, and consecrated.

Hic quidem Willelmus in ipso suæ juventutis tempore, cum esset de clero Baiocensis ecclesiæ, in monasterium Sancti Carilefi patrem jam multo ante monachum effectum secutus, suscepto habitu monachico, in monastici ordinis observantia singulariter præ cæteris amore ac studio strenuus habebatur, ideoque ad superiores gradus paulatim ascendens promovebatur. Primo enim prior claustri, deinde secundus ab abbate major, scilicet prior constituitur, inde ad vicinum præfati martyris monasterium abbas eligitur. Nec multo post nominatus rex, quia ejus industriam in rebus sæpe difficillimis probatam habuit, etiam ad episcopatum, sicut jam dictum est, ordinante Deo promovit. Erat enim pontificali ministerio satis idoneus, ecclesiasticis et secularibus litteris nobiliter eruditus, in divinis et humanis rebus multum industrius, morum honestate ita compositus, ut per id temporis nemo in hac ei putaretur esse præferendus. Inerat illi etiam tanta ingenii subtilitas, ut non facile quis occurreret, qui profundius consilium inveniret. Cum gratia sapientiæ, multa ei suppetebat facultas eloquentiæ. Erat et

His previous history.

His character.

memoriæ tam tenacis, ut in hoc etiam nimium esset admirabilis. Strenuitate sua atque prudentia non solum ad prædicti regis Anglorum, et ad regis Francorum, sed etiam ad papæ apostolici notitiam pervenerat et gratiam. Gratum erat illis virum talem interdum suscipere, eloquenter simul et sapienter loquentem audire. Cibo ac potu satis erat sobrius, vestimentis semper mediocribus usus, fide catholicus, corpore castus. Et quoniam magnæ familiaritatis locum apud regem habuerat, monasteriorum et ecclesiarum libertatem, in quantum potuit, defendere semper ac tueri curabat. Lib. IV.

Cap. II.

Quomodo clericos de ecclesia beati Cuthberti ejecerit, et auctoritate papæ et regis monachos præfatos introduxerit.

The new bishop, after full inquiry, resolves to put monks again into the church of St. Cuthbert.

Igitur sedem episcopatus sancti Cuthberti gratia Dei adeptus, terram illius pæne desolatam invenit, locumque quem sacri corporis sui præsentia illustrat, negligentiori quam ejus deceret sanctitatem servitio, despicabiliter destitutum conspexit. Nam neque sui ordinis ibi monachos, neque regulares repperivit[1] canonicos. Unde gravi mœrore confectus, Deum et sanctum Cuthbertum sedulo et suppliciter rogavit, ut sibi ad emendandum, quæ minus convenientia viderat, consulendo succurrerent, et succurrendo perficerent. Igitur senes et prudentiores totius episcopii homines, qualiter in initio apud sanctum ageretur Cuthbertum ab illo exquisiti, sedem illius episcopalem in insula Lindisfarnensi fuisse, monachosque tam vivo quam ibidem sepulto venerabiliter servisse responderunt, quorum quoque assertioni vitæ illius libellus et ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum concordat historia. Longo dehinc tempore trans-

[1] D,; *reperivit*, F.

Lib. IV. acto, crudelis barbarorum manus non hunc solum, ut supra dictum est, sed et alia circumquaque loca vastantes, nobilem illius cœnobii cœtum ausu sacrilego neci tradiderunt. Sed non impune. Nam omnes in brevi justa Dei vindicta terribiliter percussi, a temporalibus ad æterna cruciandi tormenta sunt prærepti.

He obtains the consent of the king and queen, Lanfranc the archbishop, and pope Gregory VII. to this reform.

His ergo perceptis, pristinum ad illius sacrum corpus restaurare pertractans servitium, ne quis, quæ sui solius molimine fecisset, irritanda putaret, regis Willelmi, et conjugis suæ Mathildis reginæ, et Landfranci Cantuariensis archiepiscopi consilium petivit. Rex statim, ut ex omni parte tam utilis consilii roboraretur consensus, ad papam Gregorium tam de his eum consulturum quam de aliis quæ mandaverat sibi locuturum eum misit. Cui cum de beati patris Cuthberti sanctitate quædam licet pauca dixisset, illius per omnia sibi placuit consilium, ut videlicet monachos, quos in duobus episcopatus locis Wiramuthe et Gyrwe invenerat, in unum coram sancto illius corpore congregaret, quia episcopatus parvitas ad tria monachorum cœnobia non sufficeret. Hoc quoque apostolica devotissime confirmando auctoritate, suas per memoratum episcopum litteras regi Willelmo et Landfranco archipræsuli direxit, suam ex parte Domini et sancti Petri benedictionem illis omnibusque hujusmodi propositum adjuvare conantibus largiens; eos vero, si qui nisu contrario talia debilitare præsumerent, perpetuo eorundem ex parte anathemate, nisi digna satisfactione resipiscerent, feriens. Talem papæ consensum cum rex audisset, non mediocriter gavisus, sub testimonio Mathildis reginæ, Landfranci archiepiscopi, cæterorumque baronum suorum ad hoc peragendum licentiam dedit, imo propere ut perageret episcopo præcepit. Insuper etiam leges sancti Cuthberti, quas ipse coram sancto illius corpore, sicut unquam meliores sub aliquo priorum fuerant, fide sua sancierat, denuo tunc renovando confirmavit.

Cap. III.

Quo die et tempore monachos Dunelmum duxerit, et eos benedixerit, et officia singula eis distribuerit. Lib. IV.

A.D. 1083. The monks from Wearmouth and Jarrow are brought to Durham.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini MLXXXIII., a transitu vero patris Cuthberti CCCXCVII., ex quo autem ab Aldhuno episcopo incorruptum ejusdem patris corpus in Dunhelmum est perlatum LXXXVIIII., qui est annus regni Willelmi XVIII., ex quo autem Aldwinus cum duobus sociis in provinciam Northanhymbrorum venerat X., episcopatus vero Willelmi tertio, VII. kal. Junii, feria sexta, memoratus episcopus monachos ex supradictis duobus monasteriis, videlicet Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, in Wiramuthe et in Gyruum simul congregatos, [numero viginti III.,][1] in Dunhelmum perduxit. Quibus tertio die post, id est, ipso die sancto Pentecostes in ecclesiam sancti Cuthberti perductis, apostolici papæ jussionem per auctoritatem beati Petri apostolorum principis factam, atque excellentissimi regis Willelmi voluntatem populis qui convenerant manifestavit. Quo facto, beatissimæ Dei genitrici Mariæ, et sanctissimo suo patrono Cuthberto monachos commendans, ecclesiam illis et illos ecclesiæ contradidit. Denique mox inter ipsa sacræ missæ solennia, secundum morem illos monachicum propositum profitentes, et in eodem loco stabilitatem promittentes, benedixit, et ad sacrum sanctissimi patris Cuthberti corpus inseparabiliter astrinxit. Eis vero qui prius inibi habitaverant, nomen tantum canonicorum habentes, sed in nullo canonicorum regulam sequentes, præcepit, ut si in ipsa ecclesia residere vellent, deinceps in monachico proposito cum monachis vitam agerent. At illi de ecclesia exire quam taliter ingredi maluerunt, præter unum, videlicet decanum illorum, cui a filio monacho vix, ut monachus fieret,

and the bishop commits the church of St. Cuthbert and the guardianship of the relics to their care.

The canons all but one, decline to become monks.

[1] Verba uncis inclusa, erasa ex D, in solo codice F. reperiuntur.

Lib. IV. persuaderi poterat.[a] Tribus ergo post monachorum professionem factam evolutis diebus, episcopus, omnibus illis in unum convocatis, communi consilio monasterii officia, sive negotia, his quos graviores et prudentiores et ad hoc idoneos perspexit, cum magno Dei timore ac discretione distribuit. Et congruo quidem ordine, a capite, id est, ab altari incipiens, cuidam illorum, scilicet Leofwino, viro prudenti et Deum valde timenti, ecclesiæ curam et sancti Cuthberti corporis incorrupti custodiam commisit, secretariumque constituit. Deinde Aldwino, quem pro insita illi prudentia et magnæ discretionis moderamine ac morum honestate valde strenuum noverat, intus et foris totius monasterii curam et dispensationem delegavit, et ut sine illius consilio vel prudentia nil ageretur, statuit. Denique terrarum possessiones illorum ita a suis possessionibus segregavit, ut suas omnino ab episcopi servitio, et ab omni consuetudine liberas et quietas ad suum victum et vestitum terras monachi possiderent. Antiqua enim ipsius ecclesiæ hoc exigit consuetudo, ut qui Deo coram sancti Cuthberti corpore ministrant, segregatas a terris episcopi suas habeant. Atque ideo rex Willelmus et antea, sicut supradictum est, et nunc cum monachi Dunhelmum venissent, Billingham cum suis appendiciis ad victum specialiter eorum qui in ipsa

Distribution of church offices among the new comers.

The lands divided between the bishopric and the monastery.

[a] A long passage, filling twenty lines, is here erased from the Durham MS. Probably it contained personal details about the expelled canons which Symeon, on mature consideration, thought it expedient to suppress. The erasure was already made when the writer of F. executed his copy. Four lines at the end of the vacant space are filled up in D. by the following words, in a hand of uncertain date; — "ipsum quod "dicitur quoad [?] prebende de "Aukland Darlington Norton Ek"ington factæ fuerunt tantum pro "illis canonicis, ex provisione do"mini papæ, ut haberent unde vive"rent suo perpetuo." That is, the churches of the places named were made collegiate, and their revenues allotted to the support of the canons expelled from Durham. The "Norton" mentioned must be the place of that name near Stockton; what "Eckington" is meant I am unable to say. Perhaps it should be "Esington," now Easington, a possession of the see to the east of Durham.

ecclesia Deo et sancto confessori ministrant, pro sua filiorumque salute donavit. Episcopus quoque aliquantulum quidem terræ monachis largitus est; veruntamen ut sine indigentia et penuria Christo servirent, sufficientes ad victum illorum et vestitum terras eis una cum rege ipse providerat, et jam jamque daturus erat. Sed ne id ad effectum perveniret, primo regis ac postea episcopi mors impedimento[a] fuerat. Lib. IV.

Cap. IV.

De corpore sancti Oswini, et de possessione ecclesiæ de Tinemuthe, et illius violenta ablatione.

Tynemouth, granted to St. Cuthbert by earl Albri,

Ecclesiam sane Sancti Oswini in Tinemuthe jamdudum, donantibus Northymbriæ comitibus,[1] monachi, cum adhuc essent in Gyrvum, possederant, unde etiam ossa ipsius sancti ad se transferentes in ecclesia Sancti Pauli secum non parvo tempore habuerunt, quæ postmodum ad priorem locum retulerunt. Deinde, præfati antistitis Willelmi tempore, comes Northanhymbrorum Albrius hoc donum renovavit, ipsamque ecclesiam cum suo presbytero ecclesiæ sancti Cuthberti perpetuo possidendam adjecit. Quæ cum jam per quindecim annos velut deserta sine tecto durasset, eam monachi culmine imposito renovarunt, et per tres annos possederunt.

was unjustly given by earl Robert to Paul, abbot of St. Alban's.

Cum vero postea Robertus de Mulbreio in comitatum Albrio successisset, propter inimicitias quæ inter episcopum et ipsum agitabantur, sancti Cuthberti monachos de ipsa ecclesia expulit, eamque Paulo abbati monasterii Sancti Albani martyris tradidit. Qui videlicet abbas a Dunhelmensibus monachis frequenter admontus rogatus et prohibitus ne aliena invaderet, audire noluit; quin potius suos illuc ad habitandum misit.

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[1] *donante Walchero episcopo cum comitatum regeret,* F. Vox una erasa est in D. post *comitibus.*

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[a] *impedimento.* These words seem to imply that, at the time when Symeon wrote, the lands enjoyed by the monks were *not* quite sufficient to provide them with food and clothing.

Lib. IV.

Quos non multo post ipse secutus, repente ibi infirmitate corripitur; et dum domum redire tentaret, moritur. Ipse quoque comes postea, in eadem ecclesia quam sancto Cuthberto abstulit, res omnes et honorem cum sui corporis libertate amisit.

Retribution fell on them both.

Cap. V.

Quanta Willelmus episcopus acquisierit, et qualem se subditis exhibuerit.

At vero episcopus Willelmus nihil unquam de ecclesia auferebat; quin potius semper inferre, et multis eam ac pretiosis ornamentorum speciebus studebat exornare. Jura quoque ecclesiæ, leges, et privilegia strenuitate sua atque prudentia ita Deo adjuvante defendebat et conservabat, ut eo vivente nullius temeritate, nullius violentia infringi vel violari possent. Nam et quasdam terras de quibus semper inter episcopum Dunhelmensem et comitem Northanhymbrensium contentio fuerat, ita ecclesiæ liberas et quietas reliquit ut deinceps aliquas ex his consuetudines præter episcopum exigere nemo vel debeat vel possit, quod cartulæ ecclesiæ ostendunt. Monachos ipsos ut pater dulcissimus filius carissimos amplectebatur, protegebat, fovebat, ac summa discretione regebat. Sive enim arguebat, sive blandiebatur, amabilis omnibus illis erat, quia illius neque districtio rigida, neque mansuetudo soluta, ita ex altero alterum temperabat, ut severitas illius jocunda, et jocunditas esset severa. Nimium eos diligens, nimium ab eis diligebatur. Ad sui habitus reverentiam, et ad ordinis observantiam, præcipue illos hortabatur. Hoc præsens verbo, hoc absens, missis sæpius ad eos litteris agere curabat. Hanc illius diligentiam, hoc studium testantur etiam illæ, quæ in illius memoriam servantur in hac ecclesia sacræ admonitionis litteræ, quas cum regiis impeditus negotiis venire non posset, ipse ad eos direxerat, quarum hic aliquas inserere congruum videtur.

Bishop William a benefactor and protector of the church of St. Cuthbert,

ruling the monks with a firm yet gentle hand.

Cap. VI.

Epistola Willelmi episcopi ad monachos Dunelmenses. Lib. IV.

Letter of bishop William to the monks.

"Guillelmus Dunhelmensis episcopus suis in Christo "fratribus et filiis Dunhelmensibus cœnobitis, salutem "et vivificam benedictionem.

"Non credo vos discredere, quantum mihi displiceat "quod vobiscum, ut deceret, morari non valeo. Sed "qualicunque modo vel loco peccando laborem, mens "tamen in vobis assidue delectata quiescit. Precor "ergo ut et vos tribulationes nostras mente quoti-"die videatis, et imbecillitatem meam devotis oratio-"nibus et eleemosinis caritative et sine fastidio "sustentetis. Hoc autem præcipiendo precor, et pre-"cando præcipio, ut in amorem ordinis vestri fervendo "crescatis, et ordinem pro nulla necessitate vel causa "declinare permittatis, et nulli parcatis in ordine. In "ecclesia vero non properando, sed licenter et honeste, "psalmos et cætera decantetis. Confessiones vestras "frequenter priori faciatis; conventus firmiter et "absque ulla retentione ab omnibus teneatur, præter "ægrotos et eos qui exterioribus negotiis sunt regu-"lariter deputati. Et quia præsens vobis quæ deberem "dicere non valeo, litteras istas unaqueque septimana "semel in capitulo recitate, ut et hæc firmius teneatis, "et me in his litteris loquentem audiendo Deo diligen-"tius commendetis. Et quia caritas operit multitudi-"nem peccatorum, non solum peregrinis et hospitibus, "sed omnibus omnino gentibus veram facite carita-"tem. Per hæc et per alia bona opera faciat vos et "hic sane temporaliter vivere, et perennem gloriam "æternaliter possidere, qui vivit et regnat Deus per "immortalia secula seculorum."

Cap. VII.

Lib. IV

De obitu prioris Aldwini et successione Turgoti.

Anno Dominicæ incarnationis MLXXXVII., quarto anno adventus monachorum in Dunhelmum pœne transacto, venerandus prior Aldwinus pridie Idus Aprilis terminum vitæ præsentis habuit, quarto decimo anno ex quo primum in Northanhymbrorum provinciam venerat. De cujus obitu episcopus cum fratribus multum contristatus indoluit, quia erat vir bonus, et modestus, prudentia et consilio ecclesiæ valde necessarius, et in quocunque negotio, ne Deum offenderet, maxime sollicitus. Cujus memoriam ut in suis orationibus monachi Dunhelmenses indesinenter agant, ipse meritis suis omnino exigit, quem prævium in ipsam provinciam ducem[a] habuerunt, ubi exemplo illius et magisterio habitantes Christo servire cœperunt. In cujus locum jure prioratus discipulum illius, videlicet Turgotum, communi fratrum consilio episcopus surrogavit ; et totius monasterii curam intus et foris cum Dei timore illum agere imperavit.

A.D. 1087. Death of prior Aldwin.

Turgot succeeds.

Eodem anno quo Aldwinus est defunctus, rex Willelmus, cum adhuc de XXII. regni ejus anno V. septimanæ restarent, V. Idus Septembris moriens, Willelmo filio reliquit imperium.

Death of William I.

Cap. VIII.

De exilio Willelmi episcopi, et quando posuerit fundamenta in Dunelmo novi monasterii.

Hujus, sicut et antea patris, amicitiis antistes præfatus adjunctus, familiariter ei ad tempus adhærebat: unde etiam Alvertonam cum suis appendiciis rex illi

A.D. 1088. Under William Rufus the bishop is driven

[a] It is surely the natural inference from these words that Symeon himself was one of the monks whom Aldwin brought up with him from the south in 1075.

from his see, and remains in Normandy three years.

donavit. Post non multum vero tempus, per aliorum machinamenta[a] orta inter ipsos dissensione, episcopus ab episcopatu pulsus ultra mare secessit, quem comes Normannorum non ut exulem, sed ut patrem suscipiens, in magno honore per tres annos, quibus ibi moratus est, habuit. Ita monachi Dunhelmenses, sui antistitis destituti solatio, cum multa se adversa passuros formidarent, nec ab aliquo refovendos sperarent, ita e contrario, Deo per sancti Cuthberti merita se miserante, protegebantur, ut nulla eis adversitas noceret, et ipsum regem erga se satis humanum invenirent. Licet enim in alia monasteria et ecclesias ferocius ageret, ipsis tamen non solum nihil auferebat, sed etiam de suo dabat, et ab injuriis malignorum sicut pater defendebat Sed et priori ad se venienti humiliter assurgens, benigne illum suscepit, et ita per omnia sub se quemadmodum sub episcopo curam ecclesiæ cum omni libertate agere præcepit. Hoc tempore refectorium, quale hodie cernitur, monachi ædificaverunt. Tertio anno expulsionis episcopi, cum homines regis quoddam in Normannia castellum tenentes obsiderentur, et jam jamque capiendi essent, eos episcopus a periculo liberavit, et consilio suo ut obsidio solveretur effecit. Unde rex placatus, universa quæ in Anglia prius habuerat, ei restituit. At ille nequaquam vacuus rediit, sed non pauca ex auro et argento sacra altaris vasa et diversa ornamenta, sed et libros plurimos ad ecclesiam præmittere curavit.

Lib. IV.

He pacifies the king and is allowed to return.

A.D. 1093. He begins to build the (present)

Nec multo post ecclesiam, XCVIII. anno ex quo ab Aldhuno fundata fuerat, destrui præcepit, et sequenti

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[a] Florence and Henry of Huntingdon both believed that William of St. Carileph was engaged in the treasonable design set on foot, shortly after the accession of William Rufus, for driving him from the throne and placing Robert of Normandy upon it. Malmesbury (*Gest. Pont.*) directly charges him with a share in the perfidy of Odo of Bayeux. The Peterborough chronicler, hating him as a Norman, goes so far as to compare him to Judas Iscariot!

IV. anno positis fundamentis nobiliori satis et majori opere aliam construere cœpit. Est autem incepta MXCIII. Dominicæ incarnationis anno, pontificatus autem Willelmi XIII., ex quo autem monachi in Dunhelmum convenerant XI., tertio Idus Augusti, feria V. Eo enim die episcopus, et qui post eum secundus erat in ecclesia, prior Turgotus, cum cæteris fratribus primos in fundamento lapides posuerunt. Nam paulo ante, id est, quarto Kal. Augusti, feria sexta, idem episcopus et prior, facta cum fratribus oratione ac data benedictione, fundamentum cœperant fodere. Igitur monachis suas officinas ædificantibus, suis episcopus sumptibus ecclesiæ opus faciebat. Quo tempore memoratum priorem Turgotum ante totius episcopatus populos producens, vices suas etiam super illos ei injunxit, ut scilicet per archidiaconatus officium, Christianitatis curam per totum ageret episcopatum, ita statuens, ut quicunque illi successores fuerint in prioratu, similiter succedant et in archidiaconatu. Quod non sine auctoritate vel exemplo fecit; legitur enim in vita sancti Cuthberti quod beatus Boisilus, cum esset præpositus monasterii, de monasterio frequenter exire et populo prædicare consuevit. Cui defuncto discipulus ejus, beatus scilicet Cuthbertus, successit in præpositi, id est, prioris officium. Nam qui nunc prior, a beato Benedicto præpositus monasterii appellatur. Secutus ergo exemplum magistri pater Cuthbertus, sæpissime propter
iv. 27. animarum lucra de monasterio egredi solebat, ut sæpe ebdomada integra, aliquando duabus vel tribus, nonnqunuam etiam mense pleno domum non rediret; sed demoratus in montanis plebem rusticam verbo prædicationis simul et exemplo virtutis ad cœlestia vocaret. Quapropter memoratus antistes ita constituisse dignoscitur, ut quicunque sancti Cuthberti in ipsius ecclesia successores in prioratu fuerint, etiam in prædicationis officium curam agentes Christianitatis eidem succedant.

cathedral of Durham.

Laying of the first stone.

Division of labour.

Turgot appointed archdeacon,

in pursuance of ancient precedents.

Cap. IX.

Qualia Boso miles de cœnobitis Dunelmensibus viderit, et quanta de obitu W. episcopi prædixerit. Lib. IV.

The story of Boso, and what he saw in a trance.

Quo tempore quidam militum episcopi, vocabulo Boso, infirmitate correptus, ad extrema pervenisse visus est. Permodicum enim ore et naribus trahens flatum, per tres dies raptus ab humanis rebus quasi mortuus sine ullo sensu permansit; sed tertio die, contra hoc quod sperari poterat, ad præsentia rediit. Dicebat itaque multa se vidisse, nec tamen quæ illa fuerint, donec, sicut jussus fuerat, priori retulisset, cuiquam indicare volebat. Recuperata ergo sanitate concitus ad illum venit, secretum ab omnibus loquendi cum eo locum petiit. Ubi projectis vestibus virgas manu gestans nudus, ad ejus vestigia procidit, cum lachrymis exclamans, "Ad te," inquit, "venire, tibi jussus sum pec-"cata confiteri, et meam deinceps, quæ tamen longa "non erit, vitam tuo imperio ordinare. Suscipe, quæso, "pœnitentem, et plagis verberum medelam adhibe "meorum vulneribus criminum, ut districtum Dei me-"rear evadere judicium." Itaque multo cum gemitu peccata confessus est; susceptaque pœnitentia talia cœpit narrare.

Boso's narrative.

"Ductore," inquit, "præeunte, per horrenda simul et "amœna loca sequebar. Erant omnes hujus ecclesiæ "monachi quodam in loco congregati, ante quos multum "ex sese splendoris emittens veneranda crux porta-"batur, quam omnes vestiti, ordinata solenniter, sicut "solent, processione incedentes et cantantes sequeban-"tur. Omnes in directum nusquam declinantes ince-"debant, præter duos, qui a recti ordinis linea aliquan-"tulum exorbitabant. Ibant autem omnes contra "oppositum sibi immensæ altitudinis murum, in quo "nec ostium nec fenestra ulla videbatur. Cogitante "me ac mirante cur illo tenderent ubi aditus nullus

" patebat, ecce nescio qualiter omnes intra murum " erant. Ego autem foris remanens, huc illucque re- " spexi, si alicubi introspicere possem, et inventa " fenestrella, contemplatus sum per illam campum " latissimum et vernantium flosculorum mira varietate " pulcherrimum, ex quibus admirandi suavitas odoris " emanabat. Interrogatus a ductore meo, si eos quos " ibi vidi agnoscerem, aio, 'Etiam, monachos nostros hic " 'recognosco.' Et ille, 'Dicito,' inquit, 'priori, ut eos " 'ad animarum suarum salutem diligentius hortetur, " 'illos vero duos quos ab ordine suo declinare vidisti, " 'nominatim illi ostende. Re enim vera non parum " 'a via rectitudinis aberrant, quibus magna incumbit " 'necessitas, ut peccata sua purius confessi emenda- " 'tiorem vitam ducere festinent. Hucusque etenim " 'puram ac rectam peccatorum suorum confessionem " 'nunquam fecerant.' Inde ductus, aspexi per campum " latissimum totius hujus provinciæ indigenas congre- " gatos, qui equis admodum pinguibus sedentes, et " longas sicut soliti sunt hastas portantes, earumque " collisione magnum facientes strepitum, multa fere- " bantur superbia. Is ergo qui me ducebat, an istos " recognoscerem inquisivit. Cui dum illum atque il- " lum et postremo universos me recognoscere respon- " dissem, 'Omnes,' ait, 'isti jam in proximo peribunt.' " Nec mora, omnis illa multitudo velut fumus ex " oculis evanuit. Quo facto, multo majori quam " priores superbia secuti sunt Francigenæ, qui et ipsi " frementibus equis subvecti, et universo armorum " genere induti, equorum frementium sonitu et armo- " rum collisione immanem late faciebant tumultum; " sed post paululum cum omni ipsorum gloria velut su- " bito terræ hiatu absorpti nusquam comparuerunt. " Deinde per extensum aliquot miliariis campum innu- " meram fœminarum multitudinem intueor, quarum " tantam turbam dum admirarer, eas presbyterorum " uxores esse a ductore meo didici. 'Has,' inquit,

how he saw monks of Durham.

English natives.

Norman knights.

Married priests.

" 'miserabiles, et illos qui ad sacrificandum Deo conse-
" 'crati sunt, nec tamen illecebris carnalibus involvi
" 'metuerunt, væ sempiternum et gehennalium flam-
" 'marum atrocissimus expectat cruciatus.' Inde in
" loco vastæ ac tetræ solitudinis, magna altitudine
" domum totam ex ferro fabrefactam aspexi, cujus
" janua dum sæpius aperiretur, sæpiusque clauderetur,
" ecce subito episcopus Willelmus efferens caput, ubinam
" Gosfridus monachus esset, a me quæsivit. 'Hic enim,'
" inquit, 'hic ad placitum mecum adesse deberet.'
" Hunc namque episcopus procuratorem sui episcopatus
" 'constituerat. Tunc is a quo ducebar, me alloquens,
" 'Certe,' inquit, 'scias, episcopum citissime finem
" 'vitæ habiturum. Ille quoque quem ipse nominavit,
" 'tametsi aliquanto tardius, eum moriendo sequetur.
" 'Tu, quoniam adhuc, licet brevi tempore, in mundo
" 'vivere debes, ut iram Dei evadas, confessione pecca-
" 'torum facta vitam secundum quod prior tibi osten-
" 'derit, corrige, eique universa quæ tibi sunt ostensa,
" 'ne dubites manifestare.' "

And the bishop.

Hæc et alia quamplura prædictus miles se audisse et vidisse retulit: quæ quam vera sint, paulo post et episcopi et aliorum multorum, quos jam finiendos prænunciaverat, mors secuta testimonium perhibet. Duo quoque illi qui ab ordine processionis deviare visi sunt fratres, ejus verbis fidem præbent, quorum vitam prior subtiliter discutiens, hoc quod miles de illis occulte audierat verum esse ipse invenit.

The event attested the truth of the vision.

Cap. X.

Ubi idem Willelmus episcopus obierit, et quomodo Dunelmum corpus ejus delatum sit.

Cum[1] ergo visionis suæ ordinem, jubente priore, miles episcopo retulisset, ille talia contremiscens vehementer

[1] F.; *Dum*, D.

[A.D.] IV. expavit, atque studiosius deinceps suæ salutis curam gerere cœpit, largiores videlicet eleemosynas faciendo, prolixius et intentius orando, nullius negotii gratia privata orationum quotidianarum statuta prætermittendo. Et quidem multo ante suum obitum tempore non parum infirmabatur, verum ipso die Nativitatis Dominicæ, apud Windelesoram, acriori correptus dolore gravissime per octo dies lethali morbo fatigabatur. Interim multi ad illum venerunt; alii ut in sua necessitate ipsius consilium quærerent, erat enim magni consilii, nonnulli ut vexatum infirmitate piæ visitationis verbo consolarentur. Quod maxime venerabilis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopus Anselmus fecit, cujus secreto colloquio de salute animæ ille diu potitus, consolationis et benedictionis gratiam se ab eo percepisse gratulabatur. Tanta infirmitate vexatus, nequaquam tamen longiorem vitam plus quam mortem quæsivit; sed hoc Deum intentius deprecatus est, ut quod sibi sciret magis expedire, scilicet vel diutius vivere, vel tunc vitam finire, id sibi dignaretur concedere. Die autem octavo, quo circumcisio Dominica celebratur, cum jam instante vespera irrecusabilem mortis sententiam jam jamque adesse sentiret, ea quæ fidelium morientium salus exposcit sibi postulans, venerandæ memoriæ Eboracensi archiepiscopo Thoma, cum Walchelino Wintoniensi, et Johanne Bathoniensi episcopo, multum devote officium administrante, ipse catholicam confitens fidem percepit. Quibus et se et filios suos, videlicet hujus ecclesiæ monachos, quos multum semper dilexerat, fovendos et protegendos quam maxime commendare studebat.

Windsor on Christmas day.

He is visited by archbishop Anselm.

On New Year's Day, 1096, he receives the last sacraments.

Jacente illo atque suæ evocationis horam expectante, episcopis invicem de loco sepulturæ ejus conferentibus, id conveniens videbatur, ut in ipsa sancti Cuthberti ecclesia ejus corpus jure sepeliri deberet, qui ad ipsum confessoris et episcopi sacrum corpus congregatione monachorum stabilita, ut dignum et placitum Deo

He will not hear of being buried in the church of St. Cuthbert.

servitium ibidem jugiter fieret, quam maxime semper sollicitus fuerat. Quod contra ille clamans, hoc fieri multum prohibuit; "Absit," inquiens, "absit, ut Sancti "Cuthberti ecclesiæ consuetudo, quæ ab antiquis tem-"poribus tam solicite hactenus servatur, mei corporis "causa solvatur." Nunquam enim in loco quo ejus incorruptum corpus requiescit, alicujus defuncti corpus non solum non sepeliri, sed nec ad horam inferri licuit. Placuit ergo illis ut in capitulo tumulari deberet, quatenus in loco in quo fratres quotidie congregarentur, viso ejus sepulchro, carissimi patris memoria in eorum cordibus quotidie renovaretur. Interea ille acrius dolore coactus in mortem pallescere cœpit. Itaque instante hora gallicantus, quarto nonas Januarii, feria quarta, vitæ terminum habuit. Lib. IV

The monks carry the body to Durham and bury it in the chapter-house.

Cujus corpus, pontificalibus secundum morem vestimentis obvolutum, fratres qui cum eo fuerant, Dunelmum transtulerunt. Quod occurrentes monachi et clerus, omnisque populus, cum mœrore multo et planctu susceptum, usque in ecclesiam Sancti Michaelis deportaverunt. Ibi namque prima nocte a clero et populo exequiæ illius agebantur. Mane autem facto, ad se monachi corpus transferentes, ipsum diem cum nocte secuta in precibus et psalmorum decantationibus pervigiles transegerunt, atque sequenti die, hoc est, XVII. kalendas Februarii, in loco quem, ut supradictum est, episcopi providerant, congruo cum honore sepulturæ tradiderunt. Quorum ex tanti patris amissione quantus mœror, quantus luctus, quantusque fuerit fletus, puto hic melius taceatur, quam supra id quod cuiquam credibile sit aliquid dicatur. Nullus enim, ut reor, tunc inter illos erat, qui non illius vitam, si fieri posset, sua morte redimere vellet.

The intensity of their grief.

Defunctus est autem MXCVI.[1] Dominicæ incarnationis anno, cum jam in episcopatu XV. annos et duos menses

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[1] *MLXXXXVII.*, F.

. IV. minus tribus diebus peregisset, quando et tertius decimus, ex quo in Dunhelmum congregati fuerant monachi, annus agebatur.

HISTORIÆ DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIÆ CONTINUATIO USQUE AD ELECTIONEM WILLELMI DE SANCTA BARBARA.[a]

De Ranulpho episcopo.

Tribus dehinc annis ecclesia vacante pastore, trecentas annuatim libras rex Willelmus in suum de episcopatu transtulit ærarium. A monachis vero nil accipiens, immo largus et beneficus, nil oppressionis et injuriæ illis a quoquam irrogari permisit. Evolutis de quarto anno ab obitu episcopi quinque mensibus, rex Willelmus dedit episcopatum Rannulfo, qui propter quandam apud regem excellentiam singulariter nominabatur Capellanus regis. Fuerat autem primo cum Mauricio Lundoniensi episcopo, sed propter decaniam sibi ablatam orto dissidio spe altioris loci se transtulit ad regem. Nec eum fefellit spes. Admixtus enim causis regalium negotiorum, cum esset acrioris ingenii et promptioris linguæ, brevi in tantum excrevit, ut adepta apud regem familiaritas totius Angliæ potentes, et natu quosque nobiliores illum superferret. Totius namque regni procurator constitutus, interdum insolentius accepta abutens potestate, cum negotiis regis pertinacius insisteret, plures offendere parvi pendebat. Quæ res multorum ei invidiam et odium contraxerat. Crebris accusationibus serenum animi regalis ei obnubilare, et

The see vacant three years.

A.D. 1099. Ranulf the Flambard the new bishop:

his audacity and ready wit had made him acceptable to the king:

he has many enemies,

[a] This continuation, which is found in the Durham MS. and several others (*see* Introduction), was written by some unknown monk who had witnessed the scenes of violence and rapine which followed the intrusion of William Cumin, and assisted at the final peaceable installation of William of St. Barbara, in 1144.

locum familiaritatis conabantur interrumpere. Sed cum hic casso labore deficerent, dolis circumventum etiam extinguere machinabantur.

Quidam Geroldus, aliorum, ut dicitur, audacia simul et dolo armatus, ascensa cum paucis navicula, convenit capellanum Lundoniæ, suppliciter orans ut ad dominum suum Mauricium episcopum infirmantem quantocius properaret, qui in villa sua super ripam Tamesi fluminis extremum pene spiritum agens, illius magnopere desideraret colloquium. In argumentum veritatis dixit se naviculam a domino missam adduxisse, qua ad illum velocius transveheretur. Ille, nil mali suspicatus, cum paucis suorum intravit navem, quam Geroldus recto per alveum fluminis cursu ad mare dirigebat. Quærente capellano, cur tam diu navigantes nusquam diverterent ad littora, fingebant portum paulo longius abesse, ubi aptior esset de navicula egressus in terram. Interea prospiciens majorem medio in flumine navem anchoris stabilitam, quasi suum, ut sibi videbatur, operiri adventum, illico malignæ deceptionis intellexit molimina. Quid plura? In navem suspectam transponitur numerosiorem armatorum manum habentem. Jam nulla uspiam evadendi spes. Ipse annulum quem digito gestabat, et notarius suus sigillum illius, medium projecerunt in flumen, ne per hæc, ubique locorum per Angliam cognita, simulata præcepta, hostibus decipientibus transmissa, rerum perturbarent statum. Tunc et homines sui emittuntur in terram, valido prius sacramento obligati, ut nulli mortalium quicquam de abducto domino dicerent. Jam navis relicto flumine alta maris ingreditur, et suspensis velis prospero aliquandiu cursu versus meridiem dirigitur. Interea remotius in prora sedente capellano, de genere mortis illius fit inter nautas conspiratio. Eliguntur duo filii Belial, qui eum vel in fluctus projicerent, vel fracto fustibus cerebro enecarent; habituri pretium sceleris optimas, quibus tunc indutus fuerat, vestes.

who lay a plot to entrap him on board ship and make away with him.

Ranulf in great danger.

Quorum alter cum, negante altero, mantellum illius sibi vellet sortiri, protracta inde contentio, intentatam[1] viro distulit mortem. Jamque die altero favens ad votum cesserat navigatio, cum ecce ventus turbinis a meridie surgens totum a profundis sinibus conturbavit mare, noxque repentina obduxit caligine cœlum. Jactatur hinc et inde procellis carina, jam non gubernaculo, sed ventis obediens et fluctibus. Nec ulterius procedere, nec littora valebat attingere. Jam rudentibus ruptis, fractoque malo, non tam ferebatur aquis, quam ipsa ferebat aquas. Nihil certius quam mortem expectabant. Sola hæc quantulacunque maris erat licentia, ut unde venerat navis rediret. Quo repellentibus eam undis, deliberata est in Rannulfum mortis sententia, ne evadens illatas ulciscatur injurias. Porro quidam secundus in navi a Geroldo tantum exhorrens scelus, repente astans, vultuque tristi et lachrimis suffuso, "Proh dolor!" inquit, "Rannulfe, jam morieris "nostro scelere pessimo. Sed si mihi veniam dederis "pravæ conspirationis, hic tui defensor astabo, tuæ "vel vitæ vel mortis comes." Tunc ille, sicut magnanimus semper erat in periculis, ingenti clamore vociferans, "Quid tu," inquit "Geralde, cogitas? Quid de "nobis machinaris? Homo meus es, fidem mihi debes, "hanc violare non tibi cedet in prosperum. Resipisce, "et a pernicie facti ad quod intendis, animum revoca. "Quin potius accipe profuturum tibi per omne tempus vitæ tuæ consilium. Pete quantum volueris, ego "sum qui plura petitis præstare potero. Et ne dis"credas promissis, ecce manu affirmo quod polliceor." Ille, non tam promissis illectus, quam potentia viri exterritus, consensit; eductumque de navi jam in portum repulsa, honorifico in sua domo quæ littori prominebat procuravit apparatu. Sed, nequaquam credulus promissorum, fugæ præsidium iniens, æterno

The ship driven back into the Thames by stress of weather.

[1] *intentam*, D

Ranulf escapes, and is brought back to London in triumph.

disparuit exilio. Rannulfus vero accitis undecunque militibus, multa armatorum manu grandique strepitu deducitur Lundoniam, omnibus in stuporem versis, ut quem fama divulgaverat extinctum, subito quasi redivivus regalium negotiorum executor resideret. Acceptior dehinc regi, omnes invidorum conatus cassavit, ita undique circumspectus, ut nullorum rege vivo pateret insidiis.

A.D. 1099.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini MXCIX. non. Junii oct. Pentecostes, suscepto episcopatu consecratus est in ecclesia Sancti Pauli Lundoniæ, a Thoma[1] majore,[a] Eboracensi archiepiscopo, sine ulla exactione professionis, sicut et Willelmus quondam prædecessor ipsius. Post annum autem et tres eoque amplius menses accepti episcopatus, rege in venatu sagitta interfecto, circumventus ab insidiantibus episcopus, jussu Henrici, qui fratri successerat, XVIII. kalendas Septembris capitur, diligentique custodia in turre Lundoniensi arctatur. Sed non multo post, scilicet tertio nonas Februarii, magna calliditatis arte et suorum clandestino auxilio fugiens noctu, omnem sese terra marique persequentium elusit diligentiam. Veniens ergo Normanniam honorifice a duce Roberto fratre regis susceptus est, a quo Luxoviensem ecclesiam, quæ tunc episcopo vacabat, ad sui suorumque comitum subsidia accepit. Post non multum temporis cum duce præfato, armis cum fratre congressuro, multa classe revehitur in Angliam, ubi strenuis mediatoribus, pace inter fratres reformata, utriusque partis transfugis ex conditione pacis liber in sua permittitur reditus. Inter quos et Rannulfus episcopium quidem recepit, verum gratiam regis licet magnis et continuis muneribus ad plenum sibi redintegrare nequaquam valuit. Sed

Imprisoned in the Tower by Henry I.

He escapes to Normandy, and is made bishop of Lisieux by duke Robert.

Returning to England, he can never entirely regain the favour of Henry.

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[1] *Toma*, D.

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[a] Thomas I., archbishop of York, died the following year; *see* Henry of Huntingdon, vii. § 22.

ut hanc qualitercunque vel simulatitiam mereretur, aggravavit manum super episcopatum, immoderatius inde exigens pecunias, quibus et regis et ejus[1] familiarium sibi emeret gratiam. Qua de causa, fragili fretus juvamine, suæ dioceseos appenditia, scilicet Carleol et Teviettedale[2] revocare nequibat, quæ illo exulante, cum ecclesia non haberet defensorem, ad suas quidam episcoporum applicaverant. Rex ipse etiam odio ipsius cartam ecclesiæ discindi et annihilari præceperat, quam ad confirmationem possessionum ecclesiæ a rege Willelmo impetraverat.

De moribus Ranulphi episcopi.[3]

Cæterum inerat ei episcopo magnanimitas, quam quondam procurator regni contraxerat ex potentia, ut in conventu procerum, vel primus, vel cum primis semper contenderet esse, et inter honorificos honoris locum magnificentius obtineret, vastiori sæpius clamore et vultu minaci, magis simulare indignationem quam exhibere. Ad hæc facunda ei verborum inventio, qua[4] seriis admiscens jocularia, dubios veri et falsi suspendit auditores. Motus animi quoque interdum levis, nec diutius iram retinens nec lætitiam, ex altero in alterum permutari facilis. Inter hæc plurimum circa suos eminebat beneficiis. Jura, libertates episcopii, secundum vires contra extraneos defendebat. Circa opus ecclesiæ modo intentius, modo remissius agebatur, sicut illi ex oblatione altaris et cœmiterii vel suppetebat pecunia vel deficiebat. His namque sumptibus navem ecclesiæ circumductis parietibus, ad sui usque testudinem erexerat. Porro prædecessor illius, qui opus inchoavit, id decernendo statuerat, ut episcopus ex suo ecclesiam, monachi vero suas ex ecclesiæ collectis fa-

Character of bishop Ranulf.

He finishes the nave of the cathedral.

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1 Om. *et ejus*, C.
2 *Teviedale*, T.
3 In T.
4 D.; *quam*, C. T.

cerent officinas. Quod illo cadente cecidit. Monachi enim omissis officinarum ædificationibus, operi ecclesiæ insistunt, quam usque navem Rannulfus jam factam invenit. Addidit etiam ornamentis ecclesiæ dorsalia, pallia, cappas, casulas, tunicas quoque et dalmaticas; angustias curiæ monachorum porrecto in longum et latum spacio dilatavit. Pauperibus, modo rogatus, modo ultroneus, larga manu fuit beneficus. Urbem licet hanc natura munierit, muro ipse reddidit fortiorem et augustiorem. A cancello ecclesiæ ad arcem usque castelli producta murum construxit longitudine. Locum inter ecclesiam et castellum, quem multa occupaverant habitacula, in patentis campi redegit planitiem, ne vel ex sordibus contaminatio, vel ex ignibus ecclesiam attingerent pericula. Diversas Wiri fluminis ripas continuavit structo de lapide magni operis ponte arcuato. Condidit castellum[1] in excelso præruptæ rupis super Twedam flumen, ut inde latronum incursus inhiberet, et Scottorum irruptiones. Ibi enim utpote in confinio regni Anglorum et Scottorum, creber prædantibus ante patebat excursus, nullo ibidem quo hujusmodi impetus repelleretur, præsidio locato. Taliter impulsu quodam impatiente otii de opere transibat ad opus, nil reputans factum, nisi factis nova jam facienda succederent. Vivacis animi, et vegeti fuit corporis, in eodem incolumitatis statu usque biennium ante mortem perdurans. Abhinc enim et salus ei paulatim languescere, et acumen sensus cœpit retundi. Aggravatus tandem lethali morbo, ortu dierum canicularum in lectum decidit, eorundemque occasu moriens occidit. Assederant ægrotanti assidue majores ecclesiæ, exhortantes ut præoccuparet faciem Domini in confessione, et faceret sibi amicos de mammona iniquitatis, atque quibus deberet, justa cuique persolveret. Dehinc fit inter pauperes et debitores distributio pecuniæ. Sed

Gives vestments and other things, and enlarges the monastery.

Civil works and buildings.

His restless energy.

A.D. 1129. He falls ill at the beginning of the dog days, and dies at the end of them.

[1] In marg. D. "castellum de Norham,"

quicquid debitoribus, quicquid pecuniarum alicubi vel distributum fuerat, vel repositum, nisi quantum ecclesiæ quædam et pauperes acceperant, totum rex post obitum episcopi per exactores in suos thesauros recolligi jussit. Uno ferme antequam moreretur mense, se in ecclesiam jussit transportari: ubi residens contra altare, ex profundo cordis erumpens in gemitum, circumstantibus modo clericis, et pluribus episcopii hominibus, cœpit altius pœnitere malorum quæ gesserat contra ecclesiam, scilicet quod ejus pristinam libertatem redegerit in servitutem, quod ingenuas illius consuetudines et terras quasdam abstulerit. "Et hoc," inquit, "non coactus inopia feci: sed cupiditate illectus, plus "volui illis nocere, quam potui. Nunc autem et libertatem quam inveni, et quæcumque abstuli, reddo: ut "mihi peccatorum meorum pœnitenti veniam indulgeat "Deus." Dehinc per annulum altari impositum omnia restituit ecclesiæ ablata, cartaque sua et sigillo confirmavit restituta. Obiit autem peractis in episcopatu xxix annis et tribus mensibus et septem diebus. Eo autem defuncto committitur episcopatus Dunelmensis [1] duobus baronibus, videlicet Johanni de Amundavilla et Gaufrido seniori Esscotland, ad opus regis censum colligentibus. Vacavitque episcopatus per quinquennium.[2] Eo tempore navis ecclesiæ Dunelmensis monachis operi instantibus peracta est.

He repents of the injury which he had done to the church of Durham.

and makes restitution.

The see vacant nearly five years.

The nave finished.

De electione Gaufridi Dunelmensis episcopi.[3]

Anno Dominicæ incarnationis MCXXXIII. in episcopum Dunelmensem eligitur Gaufridus regis cancellarius, qui Rufus dicebatur, consecratusque est Eboraci a

Geoffrey the new bishop.

[1] Om. D.
[2] "excepto uno mense," D.
[3] In T.

Turstino archiepiscopo Eboracensi. Cujus anno tertio rex Henricus moritur, anno Dominicæ incarnationis MCXXXV.[1a] Cui mox in regnum nepos ipsius regis ex sorore, Stephanus successit, qui laboriosissime regnum Anglorum XIX. annis[2] tenuit, dissidentibus inter se primatibus totius regni. Dissensionis autem causa hæc erat; quod tempore regis Henrici, regnum filiæ juraverant, quæ, dudum imperatrix Alamannorum, ea tempestate comiti Andegavensium matrimonio copulata erat. Hac de causa David rex Scottorum et comites quique Angliæ a rege Stephano dissentientes,[3] dum sibi invicem adversantur, iniquis quibusque maliciæ exercendæ facultatem tribuerunt, ut major pars regni desolata relinqueretur. Episcopus sane Gaufridus, primo episcopatus sui tempore, depravatus a quibusdam severius cum monachis agere compellitur. Sed non multo post tempore[4] libertates et consuetudines tam ecclesiæ quam monachis more prædecessorum suorum indulsit, et priori ecclesiæ, quæcumque vel patrum ecclesiæ auctoritas, vel comprobata[5] servaverat antiquitas et prisca consuetudo, benigne concessit. Ipsius tempore capitulum monachorum consummatum est.[6] Moriens vero ornamenta ecclesiæ non mediocria contulit. Sed in ipsius obitu contigit ecclesiam gravissimas tempestatum procellas incurrere.

Accession of Stephen.

Bishop Geoffrey is at first severe towards the monks, but afterwards becomes indulgent.

His death.

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[1] *MCXXXVI.*, Twys.

[2] "exceptis duobus mensibus et "vii. diebus," D. T.

[3] *dissidentes*, Twys.

[4] *non multo post in se reversus*, C.; verba "depravatus" . . . "reversus" desunt in D. et T.

[5] *probata*, C.

[6] *quale hodie cernitur, inchoatum et consummatum est*, C.

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[a] Henry I. died, according to Henry of Huntingdon, on the 1st December 1135.

De factis Willelmi Cumin.[1]

Erat enim quidam regis Scotiæ cancellarius, videlicet Willelmus Cumin, jampridem ejusdem Gaufridi ante episcopatum clericus. Siquidem et ante ab annis adolescentiæ educaverat; qui paululum ante obitum ejusdem Dunelmensis veniens, et cum eo familiariter conversatus, cum finem episcopi appropinquare cerneret, familiares quosque clericos, castellanos etiam sibi fide vel sacramentis associat, ut mortuo episcopo eidem castellum traderent et committerent. Totum autem consilium suum tam priori quam archidiaconibus ecclesiæ summopere celabat; et maturato rursus itinere ad regem Scotiæ revertitur, quasi ipsius adjumento episcopatum Dunelmensem adepturus. Defunctus est autem eo absente episcopus die Rogationum secunda, feria scilicet tertia; et nocte sequente, quia cadaver ejus aliter teneri non potuit, exinteratus atque sale conditus est. Statimque pro celanda morte ipsius castelli introitus etiam ipsis archidiaconibus et priori juxta solitum eum visitare volentibus interclusus est, et mors ejus celata usque sextam feriam. Cum vero versaretur in ore omnium sermo mortis ejus, tradiderunt sepeliendum feria sexta quasi recenter mortuum; et sabbato sepultus est.

A.D. 1141. The plot of William Cumin, chancellor to the king of Scotland, to seize the see of Durham.

Burial of the late bishop.

Barones episcopatus Dunelmensis consenserunt Willelmo Comin.[2]

Dominica sequente rediit Willelmus in castellum; et quasi auctoritate regis Scotiæ munitus, quem ad suam factionem jam inclinaverat, cœpit quasi sua omnia disponere, singulisque et sæpe communiter omnibus verba faciens, quosdam illiciens promissis, alios attrahens blanditiis, omnes autem exquisitis circumveniens astutiis, omnia pro posse et supra posse

The barons owing fealty to the see are won over by Cumin.

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[1] *Comine*, T.; deest hic titulus in D.

[2] T; nullum habet hic titulum D.

agebat, ut præsumpta sibi permaneret potestas. Nec multus erat labor ut sibi barones adjungeret, qui prius pœne expetitus est ab eis quam expeteret, tum timore ejus præventis, tum calliditate circumvenientis.[1] Infecit autem et unum archidiaconum malitiæ suæ venenis ut sibi assentiret. Hæc autem omnia in abscondito, in tenebris, et in umbra mortis; donec, adveniente rege Scotiæ, palam sermo de his fieret a baronibus qui regem comitabantur, Eustachio scilicet, Rodberto de Brus, Bernardo de Bailol, Hugone de Morevile. Isti namque in ejus factionem facile adducti non minus spe commodi quam promissione lucri singuli singillatim modo priori, modo archidiacono Rannulfo, opportune importune insistebant, promissis elicientes, minis terrentes, ut eum in episcopum eligerent. Responsum eis est, non posse hoc fieri tam inordinata electione, contra canonum jura et sanctorum patrum decreta, inconsulto domino legato H.[a] Wintoniensi episcopo, matre quoque ecclesia, neque die statuto, neque personis religiosis ad tale negotium evocatis. Cum autem omnia facerent, et nihil efficerent, loquela tandem eo modo finita est, ut mitterentur ad curiam a capitulo legati cum rege Scotiæ, qui per ipsum regem legatum et imperatricem requirerent, quatinus ecclesiæ suam libertatem confirmarent, ut liberam et canonicam electionem facere possent. Missi ad hoc negotium non quos elegit capitulum, sed quos adversariorum factio coegit. Tum tamen in die sacro Pentecostes, in capitulo, qui mittebantur a priore sub adjuratione divini nominis astricti sunt, ne ad curiam venientes aliud quærerent quam id ad quod missi fuerant, liberam scilicet electionem, neque quenquam nominarent, aut nominatum susciperent.

His friends try to gain the consent of the prior and archdeacon Ranulf to his election, but without success.

It is agreed that the chapter shall send a deputation to the court.

[1] *circumventis*, T.

[a] *i.e.*, Henrico; Henry of Blois, brother of king Stephen, bishop of Winchester since 1129, and papal legate.

Iverunt cum eo[1] plures de episcopatu barones, omnes ei consentientes; et remansit custodia ejus in castello. Sed ad curiam venientes non invenerunt tunc legatum; neque tamen cassabat ejus factio conari quod poterat. Requisierunt ergo imperatricem et barones et nuntii qui venerant, ut consuleret ecclesiæ Dunelmensi de persona nominata, scilicet de Willelmo. Posita tamen res in respectum est usque legati adventum. Cui tamen Rannulfus archidiaconus futurorum præcavens totius rei ordinem litteris mandaverat. Veniens autem legatus ad curiam, statim per barones imperatricis et eis qui a Dunelmo venerant de Willelmo requisitus est. Veruntamen, præsciens rei ordinem, ad tam inordinatum non potuit assensum inclinari; sed rem examinans, præscriptam factionem invenit, fautoribusque ipsius digna animadversione interdixit, ne Willelmum in episcopum nisi canonica electione susciperent. Ipsi quoque Willelmo interdixit omnem ecclesiasticam communionem, si episcopatum susciperet, nisi canonice promotus. Attamen in die Sancti Johannis Baptistæ paratus erat Willelmus ab imperatrice baculum et anulum recipere; et data hæc ei essent, nisi facta a Lundoniensibus dissensione cum omnibus suis discederet ipsa die a Lundonia imperatrix.

When the Durham party reach the court, the legate is not there.

When he arrives he supports the view of archdeacon Ranulf against Cumin.

Yet the empress would have given him the staff and ring, had she not been expelled from London.

Discessit quoque et Willelmus cum ea, regem Scotiæ comitatus. Rediit Dunelmum Rodbertus archidiaconus, et barones de episcopatu, ferentes litteras imperatricis directas ad capitulum; quarum summa hæc erat;—Quod vellet ecclesiam nostram de pastore consultam esse, et nominatim de illo quem archidiaconus nominaret, et quod de illo vellet, et de alio omnino nollet. Quæsitum est ergo quis hic esset; responsumque quia Willelmus. Obsessa vero imperatrice apud Wintoniam, inter fugientes fuga dilapsus Willelmus circa festum Sancti Michaelis Dunelmum venit; ubi regem

Cumin returns to Durham, Sept. 1141.

[1] Ita T.; *Ierunt cum plures*, D.

Scottorum ab eadem obsessione pridie reversum invenit, in monachorum curia hospitatum; et ipse quidem statim castellum intravit. Iterum ergo obsecrationes, postulationes pro eo, sed non gratiarum actio erat; quoniam neque prior vel capitulum neque Rannulfus archidiaconus verba patiebantur admitti. Post multa tandem relictus est Willelmus in castello a rege, quasi custos episcopatus sub manu imperatricis; et plegius factus est ipse rex inter munitionem et priorem fratresque monasterii, ne sibi alterutrum damnum quærerent aut facerent.

and is put in possession of the castle by the king of Scotland.

Discedente autem, disponebat Willelmus non ut custos sed sicut jam episcopus factus, dans etiam terras, et homagium omnium baronum præter solius Rogeri de Coyneriis suscipiens; et burgenses sacramenta fidelitatis sibi facere compulit. Cum autem quotidie Rannulfus archidiaconus instaret, neque aliquo modo flectere posset eum ad suum velle, tandem de Dunelmo eum disturbavit, immo et a toto episcopatu exulem reddidit. Non habens enim ubi secure se ageret, vix Eboracum effugit; diripiente Willelmo omnia quæ ipsius erant, et neque domibus parcente, quas effringere fecit, et abstrahere atque destruere. Rannulfus vero cum magna difficultate ad regem Angliæ evasit, et querimonias harum rerum apud ipsum et apud dominum legatum deposuit. Protulit ergo legatus in Willelmum tanquam invasorem anathematis jaculum, donec scilicet Ecclesiæ satisfaceret, et Rannulfo ablata restitueret; et ecclesiæ Eboracensi per ipsum archidiaconum mandavit eandem in Willelmum proferre sententiam. Sed audita sua damnatione Willelmus parum aut nihil curabat inde.

Cumin now acts as if he were the legal bishop; he persecutes and expels Ranulf the archdeacon.

The legate lays him under an anathema.

In quadragesima, veniente Dunelmum Hereberto abbate de Rokesburch,[1] quasi occasionem nactus, convenit Rogerum priorem secrete solum coram ipso

A.D. 1142. He tries in vain to conciliate the monks.

[1] *Kelkowe*, T.

abbate, districte inquisitionem faciens si se habere vellet episcopum; ut super hoc certitudinem regi Scotiæ mandaret. Veruntamen nihil ab eo quod volebat extorquere valens, dimisso illo, cantorem, secretarium, celerarium monasterii, singulos singillatim evocans, eandem cum omnibus inquisitionem agebat, neque aliquid proficiebat.

With the aid of a roving Cistercian he forges papal briefs ratifying his election.

In eadem quadragesima venit Dunelmum monachus quidam gyrovagus de ordine Cisterciencium,[1] et statim a Willelmo in familiaritatem admissus est.[2] Post multam inter se collocutionem[3] dimissus est ab eo ad machinandum negotium, quod postea satis patuit. Transacto enim tempore rediit idem monachus; et falsas litteras quasi a domno apostolico transmissas Willelmo detulit, sigillum[4] contrafactum habens ad similitudinem signaculi apostolici. Ipsas litteras Willelmus lætabandus quibusdam ex fratribus ostendit; in quibus significare videbatur[5] apostolicus gaudium sibi esse de ipsius electione, quam a populo Dei canonice factam audierat; præcepisse quoque se legato suo Henrico Wyntoniensi episcopo, ne amplius molestaret eum. Dimisit deinde monachum ad regem Scottorum euntem, quoniam ad ipsum quoque ejusmodi litteras ferebat quasi ab apostolico missas, in quibus continebatur quod maxime eum velle noverat, scilicet ut Matildam imperatricem Henrici regis filiam adjuvaret, deinde ut Willelmum Dunelmensem electum manuteneret. Neque difficile fuit ei ut regem deciperet tali machinatione, qui ubique in regno suo ipsas litteras transcribi jussit; et monacho donans palefridum,[6] et donis aliis honorans, ad Willelmum remisit. Tantam rerum fallaciam Ricardus abbas Mailrosensis experiens, zelo zelatus est pro domo Israel, tam hor-

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[1] T., *Cistrensium*, D.
[2] T.; om. D.
[3] D.; *collusionem*, T.
[4] D.; *sigillatum*, T.
[5] T.; *videbantur*, D.
[6] *palefrido*, D.

renda in ea machinari exhorrens, ipsumque pseudolegatum monachum cepit, et omnem suam machinationem confiteri fecit, qualiter Willelmi opere et promissis hæc operari edoctus et instigatus sit.

A.D. 1142. The prior, at the summons of the legate, goes to him.

Post[1] obitum Gaufridi episcopi secundo mandatus est prior a legato per obedientiam et sub excommunicationis intentione præsentiam suam sibi exhibere. Veruntamen circumclusus custodia Willelmi, cum aperte hoc facere non valeret, occulto[2] exitu manus ejus evasit, et quod jubebatur implevit. Hoc agnoscens Willelmus, ab illo jam tempore adversus fratres relictos sævitiam suam exercuit, plurima eis mala faciens, et pluriora promittens. Portas ita[3] custodiri fecit, ut neque nuntium mittere nec recipere monachi[4] quoquam modo possent. Sæpenumero[5] etiam victualia eis inferri prohibuit, et servientibus eorum aditum ad eos interdixit. Sigillum capituli in potestate habens, ad quos volebat et quas[6] volebat pro sua causa litteras mittebat. Inter hæc castellum apud Alvertonam ædificavit, quod suo nepoti Willelmo dono dedit, conjungens ei matrimonio neptem comitis de Albemarl ad manutenementum suum.

After this Cumin treats the monks harshly.

Willelmus de Sancta Barbara electus est ad episcopatum Dunelmensem.[7]

A.D. 1143. Letters come from Rome authorising and requiring the prior and archdeacon to

Anno post obitum domini Gaufridi episcopi tertio redierunt a Roma nuntii, qui pro negotio ecclesiæ Dunelmensis missi ad domnum apostolicum Innocentium fuerant a priore et archidiacono, Rannulfo, deferentes epistolam, qua eidem priori et archidiacono ex

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1 Supplenda sunt verba "anno "vero" vel "anno autem" ante "post obitum."

2 *in occulto*, T.

3 D.; *itaque*, T.

4 T.; *monachis*, D.

5 *Sæpe vero*, T.

6 T.; *quos*, D.

7 Ita in T.

auctoritate apostolica jubebatur, quatinus infra quadraginta dies postquam litteras ipsas vidissent, pastorem sibi eligerent; et si in ecclesia Dunelmensi facere non possent, vel in matre ecclesia[a] vel in aliqua vicina tam sanctum opus explerent. Statuta ergo die ad electionem, et personis de episcopatu mandatis, res Willelmum non latuit; mittensque itinera omnia obsedit, vicinis quoque mandavit, ut transeuntes observarent et sibi asservarent. Unde factum est,[1] ut quosdam quidem ipse caperet, quosdam in alia provincia secundum mandatum ejus capi contingeret. Quamobrem nonnullos hujus rei timor a cœpto itinere revocavit. Facta est tamen, Deo juvante, juxta domni apostolici mandatum electio de venerabili viro Willelmo, decano Eboracensis ecclesiæ, Dominica media quadragesimæ. Miseratque Willelmus signatas capituli literas, quippe qui sigilli, ut dictum est, potestatem habebat, cum duobus clericis, quibus electio fieri prohiberetur; sed non indigne talis legatio repulsam promeruit. Cum autem absens esset idem Willelmus, ad concilium quod tunc Lundoniæ celebrabatur profectus, et rem totam penitus ignoraret, obviam factus est priori, et personis per quos eadem de ipso facta fuerat electio, apud Wyntringham[2] super Humbre[3] flumen, ad Eboracum de concilio rediens. Ibi tunc prior et archidiaconus cum cæteris in ecclesia iterata denominatione ipsum in electum ecclesiæ Dunelmensis episcopum confirmaverunt; nolentemque et maxime reluctantem ad altare traxerunt "Te Deum laudamus" canentes.

proceed to a canonical election.

William dean of York is accordingly elected,

much against his will.

Sequente sancta festivitate Pentecostes, reverso de transmarinis partibus legato, Wintoniam cum eo pro-

The bishop elect goes to Winchester,

[1] Om. T.
[2] T.; *Wintrintham*, D.
[3] *Umbre*, T.

[a] Lindisfarne.

and is there consecrated by the legate.

fecti sunt; cum mandasset ei legatus in vi obedientiæ ad se venire. Examinata ergo electione secundum domni apostolici mandata et sanctorum patrum decreta, regisque assensu quæsito et accepto, sicut mandaverat domnus[1] papa, sacratus est a legato Dominica ante festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, et Eboracum rediit mane post festum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.

De crudelitate Willelmi Comyn, et de rebellione ejus.[2]

Cumin is contumacious.

Miserat etiam Willelmus nuntios cum litteris, quas signari fecerat sigillo capituli, per quos fieri prohiberetur consecratio ipsius electi. Veruntamen, audita consecratione ipsius, suæ mentis angustias in fratres ecclesiæ effudit, multis modis eos vexans. Vexabat quoque valde sacerdotes, quoscunque cessare a divino ministerio pro sui excommunicatione credebat, contra sanctorum conciliorum decreta ut celebrarent divina compellens; et sepeliri faciebat per suos homines qui relinquebantur insepulti a presbyteris. Orta est interim inter ipsum et Rogerum de Coyneriis discordia, quoniam homagium et sacramenta non potuit ab ipso, sicut cæteri barones ei fecerant, extorquere. Cœpit ergo Rogerus ad sui munimentum domum suam munire apud Biscoptun, ipsius Willelmi timore.[3] Audito hoc, Willelmus multam manum ad locum occupandum misit; sed a spe cadens in semet recessit.

Roger de Conyers takes part against him.

Non multis post diebus, invitatus a quibusdam, non tamen multis,[4] de episcopatu baronibus, infra episcopatum venit episcopus post festum Assumptionis Sanctæ Mariæ, tractus magis a suis quam libenter veniens. Susceptus est optabiliter a multis, qui ad eum, relicto

The new bishop comes into the diocese,

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[1] *Dompnus*, T.

[2] In T.

[3] Omissa hæc clausula in T., manu recentiore superius scripta exstat.

[4] T.; *invitatum quibusdam a multis*, D.

Willelmo, confluebant; et apud Biscoptun[a] paucis diebus perhendinans, horum homagium capiebat qui voluntarie id offerebant, nulli vim aliquam inferens, sed qui voluntarie veniebant benigne suscipiens. Conduxerunt demum[1] episcopum Dunelmum Rogerus de Coyneriis et barones qui ad eum confluxerant, ad munitionem sui militari manu muniti, sperantes vel ipsum Willelmum a malis suis pœnitere, vel eos qui cum eo fuerant ab ipso revocare.

and escorted by Roger de Conyers approaches Durham.

Multum autem opinione decepti sunt. Non solum enim, uti malorum pœnitens, pacem non expetiit, sed neque nuntios pacis ad se missos tempore passus est, quibusdam non admissis, aliis effugatis, nonnullis minis et opprobriis fatigatis. Emittens denique quos secum habebat milites, appropinquantes muris episcopales belli modo repulit. Unde qui cum episcopo fuerant in se redeuntes, apud Sanctum Ægidium, quæ sic vocatur ecclesia, distante a muris spatio, cum ipso episcopo ea nocte manserunt. Mane autem facto, conglobatus Willelmus suorum satellitum pompa effractis januis in ecclesiam cum armatis irrupit. Eratque videre milites loricatos evaginatis gladiis inter altaria discurrere, arcuarios flentibus et orantibus monachis alios intermisceri,[2] alios supra verticem minari, omnem autem ecclesiam frementium atque tumultuantium vociferatione repleri. Et manus quidem a læsione monachorum vix abstinuerunt, cum tamen unum eorum jactu lapidis

Strenuous resistance of Cumin.

He places a guard of soldiers in the cathedral, driving out the monks.

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[1] T.; *deinde*, D. | [2] *intermiscere*, T.

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[a] Bishopton, now a small village, is about 12 miles south of Durham. "In a field at the eastern extremity "of the village is a large mound, "with vestiges of an entrenchment, "which is supposed to have been "part of the fortifications that "guarded the mansion of the faith-"ful Roger de Conyers, from whom "William de St. Barbara . . . . "received powerful assistance in "his struggle against Comyn, the "usurper of the see, about the "middle of the twelfth century." Lewis's Topogr. Dictionary.

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pæne interemissent. Veruntamen, custodiam militum et arcuariorum in ecclesia relinquentes ad modum castelli eam munierunt; et veluti tripudiantes gaudio quod Divinitati contumeliam in loco pacis,[1] violatores focos accendebant, nidores carnium quas coquebant pro thimiatum odoribus adolentes,[a] pro vocibus cantantium vociferationes vigilantium[2] cum sonitu cornium latius audiri faciebant. Inter hæc et contra episcopales sæpius prodeundo non sinebant eos mœnibus appropinquare.

Hearing that Cumin has applied to the earl of Richmond for aid, the bishop retires to Bishopton.

Occulte autem Willelmus comiti Richmundiæ[3] multum[4] pecuniæ promittens[5] mandavit, quatenus cum exercitu veniens episcopum cum suis loco amoveret. Rem autem prænoscens episcopus, licet obsistere posse videretur, ne videretur effusione sanguinis maculari causa[6] pietatis, ad Biscoptun[7] cum suis discessit. Quem insequentes qui cum Willelmo erant, extremos agminis quos capere poterant misere trucidabant;[8] alios truncatis membris laniabant, quosdam mulctatos[9] incarcerabant; paucos, quos gladiis suis indignos credebant, per pecuniæ redemptionem dimittebant. Interim quosdam monachorum, quos sibi contrarios credidit, de ecclesia ejecit. Exinde vesania Willelmi indies augmentabatur, et modus jam crudelitatis non erat. Milites quidem ejus assidue prodeundo, et circa regionem omnem loca omnia cursando, quæcunque invenissent[10] deprædabantur, et neque nocte nec interdiu a depopulatione cessantes, quic-

Cumin allows his soldiers to pillage and lay waste the country round Durham.

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[1] Vox "facerent," vel aliquid simile, videtur in omnibus codicibus intercidisse.
[2] *jugulantium*, T.
[3] *comiti W. de Rice*, T.
[4] *vim*, T.
[5] *transmittens*, T.
[6] *maculare causam*, T.
[7] *Biscopum*, T.
[8] *cruciabant*, T.
[9] *vinculatos*, T.
[10] *invasissent*, T.

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[a] From this point to the words "Infra octavum" (p. 155), the original text of D. is wanting, but the passage has been supplied by the same sixteenth century hand which inserted the tract "De injusta" in the fourth book of the *Hist. Dun.* in that MS.

quid rerum invenissent passim diripiebant, alia comburendo, alia diruendo, et quicquid in agris natum erat conterendo calcibus, aut depascendo delebant; perque terram cultam iter agendo faciebant eam sterilem et vastitatis facie deformem videri. Et veluti post locustas silva cerni solet floribus et foliis spoliata, sic quacunque transibant solitudinem a tergo [1] relinquebant. Quoscunque enim magis perditos et in militia famosos audiebat, adjungebat sibi; eratque inter eos certamen alius alium in nequitia superare; ut esset acceptior quicunque crudelior esset.

In his autem quæ fiebant horror quidem audire est, magis vero videre miseria fuit. Neque enim solum rapinis et spoliationibus metiebantur audaciam; sed usque ad corporum laniationes atque cruciatus accedebant, non tamen clam, neque per noctem, aut quoslibet homines, verum luce, palam, nobiliores quosque [2] ad tormenta rapiendo. Plurimus autem erat ac varius tormentorum modus; et quam dictu difficile, tam etiam auditu incredibile. Suspendebantur per domos in parietibus homines, in transversum medii corporis funibus coartatis, et collo atque [3] pedibus immensis loricarum sive saxorum ponderibus alligatis; [4] pars utraque corporis terræ comprimebatur, nec tamen terram pressa tangebat. In hujusmodi [5] autem pœna suspensi plures quam duodecim simul visi sunt. Alios autem alio, stricto per gelu fluminis alveo tempore hiemali dirupta [6] glacie cruciandos frigore in aquam præcipitavere, et subinde funibus extrahentes atque sæpius immergentes, tantæ crudelitatis spectaculo diros pascebant obtutus. Quorundam quoque per medium parietis pedes emittentes, nudos frigoribus nimiis opponebant, et interdum nocte tota sic cruciandos relinquebant. Ad hæc accedebat genus illud supplicii exquisitum, quo simul

Horrible cruelties practised by them.

[1] T.; om. D. *a tergo.*
[2] T.; *quousque*, D.
[3] *ac*, T.
[4] *illigatis*, T.
[5] T.; *hujus*, D.
[6] *diruta*, T.

compressa in arctissimi loculi spatio membra collidebant; ubi supplicii antiquum genus nova transmutabat[1] crudelitas. Quomodo enim distensa per eculeum crescebant olim membra ad supplicium, sic modo e contra in se coartata minorabantur, et aliquando[2] confracta interius rumpebantur. Super hæc[3] autem vinculorum immanitatem, carceris fœditatem, famis enormitatem quis explicare sufficiat? Sed ut multa paucis absolvam, ubique per oppidum gemitus erat et plurima mortis imago. Talibus quidem tormentorum generibus, locus semper honori habitus omnibus erat horrori, et infernus quidem suppliciorum vocabatur.

Virg. Æn. ii. 369.

The bishop goes to Thornlaw.

Episcopus autem post festum Sancti Michaelis propius Dunelmum accessit, et ædificata ab his qui cum ipso erant munitione, in loco qui dicitur Tornelau,[4] ubi commode poterat, cum inopia victitabat. Verum in tantis malis cum extrema vastitas totius provinciæ metueretur, ad festum Sancti Andreæ per Eustachium filium Johannis et Stephanum de Maynil[5] atque barones episcopatus treugæ pacis cum Willelmo compositæ sunt usque octavas Epiphaniæ; promisitque Willelmus malorum emendationem, sed fallaciter,[6] ut post patuit. Satis enim demonstratus est in illum pro tempore simulasse;[7] quippe consumptis circumquaque, et quasi corrosis amaris ejus morsibus, quæ dare possent vel crudelitati ejus materiam vel cupiditati prædam; quatenus si qui forte[8] tunc effugissent ejus malitiæ fauces, postmodum et liberius raperentur ad pœnas. Sacris autem diebus Adventus Domini quietus esse non poterat. Sed ab episcopatu modicum quiescens, in barones vicinos atque in comitatum suam transtulit sævitiam, depopulando atque diripiendo omnia quæcun-

30 Nov. 1143. Truce concluded till the Epiphany.

Cumin violates it.

[1] T.; *transmutavit*, D.
[2] *aliis*, T.
[3] *hoc*, D.
[4] *Thornlaw*, D.
[5] T.; *Menyll*, D.
[6] *faciliter*, D.
[7] *meliora simulasse*, D.
[8] *forte si qui*, D.

que [a] suos mittebat, et homines ad tormenta capiendo. Nocte quidem festivitatis sancti Thomæ Apostoli Umfridum de Thorp [1] in propria domo capiens, Dunelmum abduxit, et ad redemptionem posuit. Infra octavum vero [b] diem Natalis Dominici in terra Bernardi de Bailol etiam strage hominum facta, prædam multam Dunelmum advexit, et homines quos vivos ceperat variis tormentis affecit.

A.D. 1144. Through the mediation of the archbishop of York a fresh truce is concluded.

Infra terminum vero positarum treugarum venit archiepiscopus Eboracensis Dunelmum, et cum Willelmo agere cœpit, quatinus se rebus deponeret et ad malorum pœnitudinem veniret. Sperabaturque tunc per archiepiscopum id effici posse, promittente Willelmo se consilium ejus in omnibus secuturum. Reverso autem de Eboraco episcopo, quo primum treugis positis abierat, ad colloquium utrorumque episcoporum extra oppidum Willelmus venit. Præsente quoque episcopo Carloliensi,[2] tandem per archiepiscopum treugas firmæ pacis dedit, et alterutrum accepit a baronibus episcopi, usque Sancti Johannis Baptistæ Nativitatem; ipse in castello interim mansurus, donec ad apostolicum mitteret episcopus, consilium de tota [3] re quæsiturus quid fieri oporteret. Interim haberet Willelmus tertiam partem de reditibus episcopatus inter Teysam et Tynam; ipso Willelmo palam reddente [4] episcopo quicquid ejus juris esse deberet, infra burgum et extra, et quicquid tenebat de episcopatu, præter castellum. Hæc conventio per archiepiscopum firmata est, et a Willelmo atque a baronibus episcopi utrimque [5] affidiata est teneri.

to last till Midsummer,

the whole matter to be referred to the decision of the pope.

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[1] *Crup*, vel *Trup*, T.
[2] *Carlilionensi*, T.
[3] *tanta*, T.
[4] *redeunte*, D.
[5] *utrumque*, D.

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[a] *quocunque ?*
[b] From this word the original text of D. is again extant.

De proditione Hugonis Pynton.[1]

While the bishop is in Northumberland Hugh Pynton, his steward, is seduced by Cumin and becomes a traitor.

Secessit autem episcopus exinde inchoante Quadragesima in Northumbriam, relicto super negotia sua in episcopatu Hugone filio Pintonis dapifero suo; et per totam Quadragesimam his quæ fuerant episcopalis officii, tam dedicandis ecclesiis quam cimiteriis consecrandis, atque aliis agendis sollempnibus curiosus invigilabat. Nactus vero idem Hugo familiaritatem Willelmi, continuo in eum contumeliosus apparuit qui sibi beneficiorum auctor extiterat, factus domini sui proditor, et perditis quibusque malitiæ exemplum. Comitatum iniquitatis a Willelmo capiebat, primo quidem parvum, ampliorem autem proficiscens. Facile quidem mentiri paratus, mirusque fidem adhibere mendacio, et qui fallaciam virtutem putaret; eaque adversus dominum benignissimum usus est. Cujus potentia[2] supra quam satis erat expletus, satietatem suam tanquam fera bellua in ipsum profudit, et tandem exuens se simulatione alter Triphon[3] apparuit. Denique reverso in sua episcopo, et apud Gyrvum, quæ sic vocatur ecclesia, perhendinante, primum fraudibus et dolis eum circumvenire tentabat, omni conatu affectans, quatinus ad loquelam contra Willelmum episcopus iret, ubi certum erat Willelmum episcopi captionem moliri. Cavente autem hoc episcopo, non multo post malitiæ venena quæ adversus eum occulte collecta sunt, in apertum effusa patuerunt. Seducto namque quodam barone episcopi, Aschetino de Wirece,[4] et flexo ad hoc ut secum iret Dunelmum, tanquam secum acturum de quibusdam ratiociniis contra Willelmum de pactionibus præmissis, advenientem càpi fecit a Willelmo, cum prius manu sua affidiasset nihil adversi passurum.

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[1] In T.
[2] T.; *patientia*, D.
[3] *Trifon*, D.
[4] *Wyrece*, T.

Et ille quidem vinculatus atque incarceratus est, et tandem redemptioni[1] positus. Non multo post Rodbertum de Amundavilla, sicut priorem, Willelmus cepit, ligavit, atque redemit. Deinde, sabbato post Ascensionem Domini, primo mane, ad locum ubi erat episcopus nepos Willelmi, alter Willelmus, cum multa manu advenit; et insultum faciens ad murum quo cingebatur ecclesia, hostiliter[2] ingressum moliebatur, ut episcopum cum suis captivum abduceret. Pauci vero qui intus erant, nam plures in villa sopori adhuc dediti erant, quoquo modo potuerunt se defendentes introitum impugnantibus vetabant. Sed protegente Deo, cum a primo mane impugnantes usque tertiam diei horam omni nisu institissent, spe frustrati in semet redierunt; spoliisque ablatis quæ ceperant extra murum, et equis abductis, Dunelmum reversi sunt.

Cumin's nephew fails in an attempt to surprise and capture the bishop.

Episcopus autem opportunum sibi non esse videns citra Tinam manere, vigilia Pentecosten flumine transmeato, non multo post ad Lindisfarneam insulam perhendinaturus perrexit. Hugo filius Pintonis castellum de Tornlauum[a] Willelmo prodidit, pactis inter eos firmatis de filia ipsius Hugonis cuidam nepoti Willelmi conjugio copulanda. Episcopus autem in comite de Northumbria[b] spem habebat, qui et scripto ei atque pacto firmaverat auxilio ei fore contra Willelmum, ut sedem intrare posset. Verum Willelmus, tempus redimens, comitem eludebat, treugas pacis cum eo componens usque Assumptionem Sanctæ Mariæ.

The bishop goes to Lindisfarne.

He relies on the earl of Northumberland.

[1] *ad redemptionem*, D.

[2] T.; *hostialiter*, D.

[a] Thornley is about six miles east of Durham, nearly midway between it and Hartlepool.

[b] This was prince Henry, son of David king of Scotland, to whom Stephen had given the earldom of Northumbria four years before these events. *See* Hoveden, a. 1140.

Quod castellum factum est de ecclesia Sancti Johannis apud Meringtoun, et de vindicta eorum qui hoc fecerunt.

Cumin's party begin to fortify a church at Merington.

Pridie vero ante prædictam festivitatem Willelmus, coadunatis omnibus suis apud capellam quandam Sancti Johannis, de ipsa ecclesia castellum munire cœpit,[a] distante a Dunelmo eodem loco quasi leugis quinque; et operi quidem instanter instabat. Tres vero barones episcopi, Rogerus scilicet de Coinneriis, Gaufridus Escolland, et Bertram de Bulemer, sacrilegio cognito et profanatione diffamata, eligentes magis pro sacris mori quam Dei injurias non ultum valide[1] pergere, quantum[2] potuerunt, manu congregata, ad locum accesserunt, ut nefario operi impedimentum afferrent. Sed non eos sustinuerunt Willelmi adjutores. Quidem fugæ se dederunt; alii vero se in ecclesia, quæ jam fossata propemodum tota cincta fuerat, se concluserunt; et super turrim stantes, atque propugnacula quæ fecerant accedentes, sagittando atque jaculando avertere conabantur; sed inaniter. Nam qui oppugnabant, neque quod paterentur meditantes, nec quod pati possent metientes, quidam eorum statim per fenestras irrepti, alii super prophanos ignes immittentes, quoniam rei necessitas ita poscebat, citius quam sperabatur locum et sacrilegos capiunt. Eorum vero[3] flammis exusti sunt; plures quoque captione abducti, Deo illis dignam reddente mercedem. Contigerat autem nepotem Willelmi, alterum Willelmum, prima die incepti operis illius infirmitate opprimi, sive

The adherents of the bishop attack the place, and kill or capture nearly all.

[1] T.; *inde*, D.
[2] T.; *quanta*, D.
[3] *plures*, vel aliquod simile vocabulum, videtur excidisse.

[a] The church of St. John the Baptist at Merrington, near Bishop's Auckland, stands on high ground, and would therefore be well suited for a fortification.

hoc eventus, sive a Deo vindicta estimari debeat. Veruntamen inde sublatus, et nocte Dunelmum delatus, ex infirmitate in mentis vesaniam venit, et aliquamdiu misere vexatus expiravit. Quidam quoque cæmentarius, operi maligno propensius insistens, tempore quo locum ipsum capi contigit, in ipso inventus opere repente insanire; et eductus a comitibus, antequam Dunelmum veniret, masticans linguam suam mortuus est.

Cumin's nephew goes mad and dies.

Congregato interim exercitu comes Henricus, ducens secum episcopum, in provinciam venit, atque Dunelmum appropinquavit. Interea exeuntes Willelmi comites ignem hospitali apud Sancti Ægidii ecclesiam immiserunt, et villam ad eam pertinentem totam concremaverunt. Partem quoque burgi quæ ad monachorum jus pertinebat igni tradiderunt. E vestigio comitis milites insecuti quod residuum erat burgi incendio consumpserunt. Deinde comes ad Tornelau[1] cum exercitu vadens, reddentibus ei castellum Willelmi[2] custodibus, nequaquam id episcopo reddere voluit, sed suos imposuit, qui terram quam protegere debuerant deprædare cœperunt, et multa in episcopatu damna fecerunt. Comes autem his actis in se rediit, et episcopus ad Novum Castellum perrexit. Ad eum locum non multo post rex Scotiæ venit, tractus illic a Willelmo, quod ei castellum tradere spoponderat. Veruntamen ad ejus colloquium apud Gateshevet[3] veniens, spe frustratum reliquit; rediensque Dunelmum cum Rogero de Coyneriis pactiones componere cœpit.

Earl Henry brings the bishop towards Durham; but effects little.

Disappointed of aid from king David, Cumin offers to treat.

Quomodo Willelmus de Sancta Barbara receptus estad episcopatum Dunhelmiæ.

Quibus tandem eo usque perventum est, ut episcopus, non tam pactis credens quam a suis coactus,

He yields up Durham.

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[1] *Thornelaw*, D.
[2] Om. T.
[3] *Gateshuvet*, T.

et multorum extrema necessitate compulsus, versus Dunelmum ire perrexerit.[1] Jam cum suis Rogerus de Coyneriis oppidum habebat, et Willelmus in monachorum curia episcopum expectabat. Sic igitur inopinabiliter rebus mutatis, episcopus in die festivitatis Sancti Lucæ evangelistæ cum archiepiscopo Eboracensi et episcopo Carloliensi Dunelmum intravit. Cujus prostratus pedibus Willelmus, cum, interrogante episcopo, palam confiteretur nihil sibi aut in pecunia aut in rebus aliis episcopum promisisse, sed de male actis quidem se pœnitere, gratis vero se castellum et omnia sua episcopo dimittere, ideoque se nudum ad ipsius pedes, et paratum ad satisfactionem de omnibus humiliter[2] offerre;[3] ab episcopis, quantum ad eos pertinere poterat, salva reverentia domini apostolici, ad initium pœnitentiæ susceptus est. Sacramento autem facto coram ipsis episcopis, omnia quæ fecerat damna singulis se redditurum promisit. Et sic post tam longum exilium, post tot vexationes, post multorum tam multa detrimenta, operante Deo consolationem suorum, in sede sua episcopus sollempniter susceptus est.

On St. Luke's day the bishop enters the city.

Cumin makes an entire and abject submission.

Bishop William solemnly installed in his see.

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[1] *perrexit*, T.
[2] Om. T.
[3] *afferre*, T.

HISTORIÆ DUNELMENSIS CONTINUATIO ALTERA, USQUE AD EPISCOPATUM HUGONIS DE PUTEACO.[a]

De invasore tempore Willelmi 2di episcopi.

A.D. 1141. The plot of William Cumin.

Sed in ipsius[b] obitu contigit ecclesiam gravissimas tempestatum procellas incurrere. Erat enim clericus quidam, regis Scotiæ cancellarius, jam pridem eidem ante episcopatum notus, et a secretis, siquidem et eum ab annis adolescentiæ educaverat. Qui paululum ante obitum ejusdem Dunelmum veniens, et cum eo familiariter conversatus, cum finem episcopi appropinquare cerneret, familiares quosque clericos, castellanos etiam sibi fide vel sacramentis associat, ut mortuo episcopo eidem castellum committerent. Eo igitur mortuo, ab eisdem extorsit, ut episcopus celaretur donec cum rege Scotiæ loqueretur, ut ipsius adjumento episcopatum acquireret. Proinde, quia cadaver aliter teneri non potuit, evisceratus est a suis episcopus, et a monachis absconditus, ne rem cognoscerent, a tertia feria usque ad sextam feriam. Tunc enim eodem a curia reverso, prior et monachi admittuntur castello jam ad voluntatem ipsius disposito.

Stephen had been taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln;

Erat eo tempore maxima regni turbatio; siquidem rex Stephanus, dum comitem Cestriæ in Lincolnia obsideret, idem comes furtim egreditur, et sociato sibi comite Glocestriæ, cæterisque imperatricis fautoribus, ad urbem regreditur, ubi inter eos prælio facto rex milite

[a] This continuation, doubtless written by a Durham monk, may probably be dated about the middle of the episcopate of Hugh de Puisac, that is, between 1170 and 1180. It is only found in the Cambridge MS. used by Twysden. It follows the earlier continuation almost word for word as far as the mention of William Cumin; then it diverges, giving a much abridged narrative of the confusion and bloodshed caused by his intrusion. The writer then devotes a few lines to the life of William of St. Barbara, and passes on to notice the great building works undertaken by his successor.

[b] Gaufridi episcopi

destitutus capitur, non tamen absque detrimento capientium. Erat siquidem robustus viribus, et rebus bellicis eo tempore incomparabilis. Eo igitur incarcerato, imperatrix regis Henrici filia cum magno favore a Londoniensibus excipitur. Quo comperto, rex Scotiæ David ad curiam ejusdem proficiscitur, secum cancellarium suum ducens, qui pretio ab eodem exegerat, ut ejus causa erga imperatricem ageret. Jamque se Dunelmensem electum vocari volebat, quod facile adulatoribus undecunque concurrentibus persuasum est. Denique in curia jam constitutus, tam a rege Scotiæ quam cæteris mediantibus tandem in assensum imperatrix inducitur. Factoque consensu, cum jam jamque se baculo episcopali ab imperatrice investiendum speraret, in ipsa curiæ coadunatione subito turba exoritur, a regiis commota fautoribus, et imperatrix cum suis omnibus aufugit, Londoniensium conspiratione comperta. Nec multo post, cum imperatrix Wintoniæ moraretur, ibidem a gente Londoniensium obsidetur, qui reginam evocaverant, et ei Londoniam tradiderant. Illic congressione facta a baronibus hinc inde pro partis utriusque favore confluentibus, Rodbertus comes Glocestriæ capitur, rex Scotiæ fugatur, cæteri quique huc illucque disperguntur. Hac vero captione contigit, ut rex liber dimitteretur.

but was afterwards released.

Cumin's proceedings at Durham.

Rege Scotiæ repatriante, cancellarius prædictus Dunelmi remansit per tres annos quibus vacabat episcopatus, operibus prætendens quo respectu episcopatum desideraverit, nisi quantum eum spes honoris adipiscendi refrænabat. Multa in episcopatu cupiditatis, immo crudelitatis signa reliquit. Monachis tamen jocundus semper et affabilis erat, a quibus se promovendum sperabat. Sed eum sua spes fefellit. Secundo siquidem anno, ex consilio capituli prior ecclesiæ Eboracum proficiscitur, communicato primitus consilio, ut quem ipse cum majoribus ecclesiæ eligeret, ad hunc cæteri domi residentes animum intenderent, excom-

municatis primitus ex sententia capituli Willelmi fautoribus. Deinde vero legati Romam diriguntur, domino papæ causam indicaturi. A quo accepto eligendi quem vellent præcepto, convenientes in ecclesia Eboracensi, quia in Dunelmensi convenire non poterant, convocatis religiosis quibusdam de episcopatu personis, prior et ejusdem ecclesiæ archidiaconus cum cæteris ejusdem ecclesiæ decanum in episcopum eligunt anno Dominicæ incarnationis MCXLIV.[a] Erat eo tempore dominus Wintoniensis, apostolicæ sedis legatus, cujus ope et consilio maxime innitebantur Dunelmenses contra invasorem episcopatus. Qui et ab eodem pridem excommunicatus est cum fautoribus suis. Præsentatum itaque sibi electum Dunelmensem suscepit honorifice, regemque fratrem suum scilicet ad assensum electionis inclinavit, et comitante gratia ejusdem debito cum honore consecravit septem episcopis astantibus XII. kalendas Julii.

The dean of York elected as bishop,

and consecrated by the legate.

Consecratus vero Eboracum rediit, et in invasores ecclesiæ suæ sententiam excommunicationis propalavit. Mox vero quidam de baronibus episcopatus se eidem ut domino subdiderunt. E quibus Rogerus quidam de Coinariis continuo munitionem quandam in episcopatu firmavit, ubi, si opus esset, episcopus reciperetur, ad sui suorumque tuitionem. Quo non multo post episcopus a suis venire compellitur, si forte invasores ecclesiæ resipiscere voluissent. Nec interim vacabant castellani Dunelmenses quin prædas ducerent, militibus qui ad episcopum confluebant occurrerent, et ad eum transeuntibus impedimento forent. Si qui vero locupletiores inde conjuncti fuissent, qui ad episcopum suum confugere voluissent, tormentis continuo afficiebantur donec se pecuniis redemissent. Fiebat itaque diebus singulis perscrutatio ingens, et quicunque ditior,

He comes into the bishopric.

Cruelties practised by Cumin's mercenaries.

[a] The narrative of the first continuator clearly shows that the *election* of William of St Barbara was in 1143, not 1144.

calumniæ vicinior erat. Conducti enim ab invasore milites pro libidine cuncta faciebant, et dum cupiditati modis omnibus satisfacere satagunt, pecunias singulorum tormentis et pœnis exquisitas extorquent. Miseranda tunc erat urbis facies, cum per domos singulas urbis tormenta innumera cerneres, tanquam si diversorum temporum tyranni quique in unum confluxissent. Cerneres alios eculeis distendi, alios per verenda sursum trahi, alios thecis parvissimis lapidibus substratis includi, et pene quassari; alios vero in hieme validissima nudos extra domos vinciri, pedibus infra domos trunco inclusis. Inter hos et ipse qui castellum tradiderat, pœnis immanissimis ab eodem extinctus est, nepos scilicet episcopi,[a] debitum sancto Cuthberto persolvens supplicium, qui invasorem ipsius ecclesiæ infra castellum ad ipsius ecclesiæ detrimentum recepit. Adjecit et hæc invasoris impietas, ut quoscunque monachos erga episcopum benevolentiores ab ecclesia removeret. Quod ex hujusmodi cepit occasione. Confluentibus enim ad episcopum undecunque militibus, sive spe lucri seu etiam ipsius episcopi exhortationibus et reverentia honestatis illius et religionis, (erat enim et religione præcipuus et præcellens prudentia,) a baronibus totius episcopatus invitus compellitur vires experiri confluentium, si forte vel terrore humano cederet, qui divino dedignabatur cedere. Subito igitur Dunelmi, astantes cum militum valida manu, in proximo Dunelmi municipium firmare statuunt, unde cominus hostibus infra urbem constitutis congrederentur. Quod ne perficeretur, impedimento fuit comes de Richemund, qui mercede conductus ab ecclesiæ invasore, egit nunciis clandestinis ut episcopus abscederet: alioquin se superventurum minabatur. Cessit episcopus, quia ei vires ad resistendum comiti non suppeterent, et alibi

The earl of Richmond thwarts the endeavours of the bishop's friends.

[a] This fact, that the castle at Durham was betrayed to Cumin by the nephew of the late bishop Geoffrey, was not mentioned by the first continuator.

munitio [a] a suis firmata est VI. ab urbe miliario. Ubi militibus congregatis per aliquantum temporis resedit, militibus quotidie ad urbem recurrentibus, et vires hostium infirmare certantibus. Nec multum proficere poterant, militibus Dunelmensibus occurrentibus, et satis superque strenue agentibus, qui quocunque divertissent, vel superiores vel pares existebant.

Perseveravit hæc rerum turbatio inter episcopum Dunelmensem et episcopatus invasorem per annum integrum et menses quatuor. Quibus completis, cum jam virtus deficeret humana, nec spes adversarios subigendi restaret, nisi ope et auxilio divino, subito ostensione divini miraculi terrentur adversarii, unde suæ vitæ metu et divinæ terrore animadversionis invasa relinquere compelluntur. Dum enim, prioribus facinoribus nova cumulantes, super ecclesiam in honorem beati Johannis evangelistæ fabricatam castellum ad munimentum partis suæ firmare satagunt, subito nepos ejusdem, miles egregiæ virtutis, in ipsa operis inchoatione, ultione divina imminente et beati evangelistæ, infirmitate correptus vix ad urbem revertitur, ubi dæmonio traditus vexari cœpit, quousque animam miserabiliter exhalaret. Alter etiam nepos ejus jam pridem infirmitate subitanea diem clauserat ultimum. Nec multo post milites quique totius episcopatus cum baronibus congregati castellum illud quod supra ecclesiam firmatum erat obsident: nec multo post, injecto igne, obsessos quosdam igne conflagrarunt, quosdam ad deditionem compulerunt. Multi præterea ipsi invasori familiarius adhærentes, subitis intercepti casibus, utraque morte præventi sunt. Ex his vero qui ecclesiam sancti Cuthberti violaverant, pœne nullus evasit, quin infra breve terminum pacis violatæ debitas sibi pœnas persolverent.

Sudden collapse and ruin of Cumin's party.

The fighting at Merrington.

Ecclesiam enim hac occasione violari contigit. Cum majores totius episcopii, ipsum secum ducentes episco-

The writer explains how the cathedral

[a] *munitio.* At Thornley; *see* note on p. 157.

came to be violated by the soldiers.

pum, urbi, sicut præmisimus, vicinaretur, ut in proximo municipium facerent ad urbis obsidionem, quia ecclesia supra vallem qua urbs cingitur collocata videtur, metuentes ne forte clanculo milites in ecclesiam admitterentur, utpote monachis episcopo suo faventibus, primo per alios monachos convenit, ut suos in ecclesia custodes admitterent. Sed hoc monachis durissimum videbatur, excommunicatis ecclesiæ delegare custodiam. Proinde se infra ecclesiam recipientes valvas ecclesiæ claudunt, excommunicatis introitum interdicentes ecclesiæ, ipsi vero in oratione prosternuntur. Cum ecce sonitus aures eorum pulsat, militibus januas excidentibus. Alii vero, per scalas adeuntes fenestras, effractis fenestris introeunt, et valvas sociis aperiunt. Deinde ecclesia duobus militibus ab ipso violatore committitur, monachis se infra officinas proprias cohibentibus, nec in ecclesia vel psallere præsumentibus vel orare, propter excommunicatorum præsentiam. Miseranda prorsus et deflenda rerum facies, ecclesiam illam celeberrimam in solitudinis vastitatem redactam, ut nec orandi monachis locus pateret, sed illius desolationem repræsentaret, de qua scriptura commemorat: "Et Jerusalem non inhabitabatur, sed erat sicut deserta, nec erat qui ingrederetur et egrederetur de natis ejus." Perseveravit hæc desolatio anno uno et hebdomadibus septem.

1 Macc. iii. 45.

Cumin surrenders the castle to Roger de Conyers.

Denique, sinistris suorum eventibus territus, invasor ecclesiæ cœpit occasionem quærere iram potius divinam evadere, quam ecclesiæ quam læserat satisfacere. Veniente itaque in provinciam illam archiepiscopo Eboracensi, eum mox ille excepit, et castellum cuidam ex baronibus, Rogerio scilicet de Coineriis in fidelitatem sancti Cuthberti servandum commisit, ipse munitionem,[a] quam dudum, ut præmisimus, idem Rogerius firmave-

[a] Thornley. Part of the terms of surrender seems to have been that Thornley should be given up to Cumin, a fact not mentioned by the first continuator.

rat, ad sui suorumque tuitionem suscipiens. Taliter in sedem suam episcopus admittitur, et in statum pristinum redintegratur ecclesia, anno Dominicæ Incarnationis MCXLIV., secundo anno consecrationis ejusdem episcopi Willelmi secundi. The bishop received into his see. A.D. 1144.

Novem deinceps in episcopatu vixit annis, multa in episcopatu adversa sustinens, tam propter regis Scotiæ exactiones non justas, quam propter vicinorum latrocinia, et depredationes non tam crebras quam pœne continuas. Ipsius temporibus dormitorium monachorum perfectum est. Vixit in episcopatu annis IX., mensibus quatuor, diebus quinque. Transiit Idus Decembris, tam annis plenus quam moribus; vir et religione et prudentia plurimum laudabilis, posteris quoque imitabilis, in divinis rebus a pueritia exercitatus, et ad officium episcopatus sufficienter idoneus; canitie quidem venerabilis, sobrietate tamen victus et vitæ continentia morumque gravitate venerabilior. Bishop William II. Panegyric of his high qualities.

De electione et ordinatione Hugonis episcopi.

Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis MCLIV., anno regis Stephani XVIII., papatus Eugenii IX., adventus Anglorum in Angliam DCCIII., indict. I., epactæ XXIII., concurrentes III., reg: V., ciclo decennio V° XIV., LXXIX. die post obitum Willelmi episcopi, XI. Kal. Februar., electus est in episcopum Hugo, Eboracensis ecclesiæ thesaurarius et archidiaconus, convenientibus quibusque religiosis personis totius episcopatus in capitulum Dunelmensem. Qui regi Stephano præsentatus suscipitur, electione capituli concessa, ordinatio tamen paululum remorata est, zelo domini Eboracensis archiepiscopi tunc Henrici, qui non solum electioni assensum non adhibuit, quinimmo sententiam maledictionis in priorem et archidiaconum inconsulte intorsit. Quod tamen, quia et præcipitanter et irrationabiliter nimis egerat, in irritum cessit; siquidem prior et archidiaconus, dominum A.D. 1154. Election of Hugh de Puisac disallowed by the archbishop of York, but confirmed by the pope.

papam tunc temporis Anastasium adeuntes, honorifice concessa et confirmata electione suscipiuntur, et ordinato a domino papa episcopo cum gaudio remearunt ad propria. Nactus episcopatum, ad munitionem sui suorumque castellum super Twedam fluvium contra Scottorum irruptiones præcepto regis ædificavit, quod
Ante, p. 140. pridem a Ranulpho quondam Dunelmensi episcopo ædificatum a Scottorum exercitu destructum fuerat.
Building works of bishop Hugh. Plura vero ædificia in episcopatu fecit; necnon in ipsa urbe sedis suæ, veteribus destructis, nova et insignia fecit ædificia. In ecclesia sane sedis suæ, in qua cor-
Enlargement and decoration of the cathedral. pus beatissimi Cuthberti requiescit, ornamenta multa dedit, ecclesiam quoque insigni opere produxit, et tam longiorem quam clariorem reddidit, addito de longinquo marmore quo totum decoraretur ædificium, multiplicatis insigni pictura fenestris vitreis circa altaria.
New feretory. Præterea vero quoddam feretrum nimis speciosum, auro purissimo et argento mundissimo optime fabricatum, lapidibusque pretiosis opere mirifico adornatum construxit, in quo viri venerabilis Bedæ presbyteri et Girwensis monachi ossa, cum multorum aliorum sanctorum reliquiis collocavit.

Hæ reliquiæ in Dunelmensi continentur ecclesia.[a]

Corpus sancti patris Cuthberti cum carne et ossibus totum integrum, quasi adhuc esset vivus. Caput sancti Oswaldi regis et martyris, quod locatum est in scrinio cum corpore sancti Cuthberti. Inventa sunt quoque cum corpore ipsius sancti patris, ossa sancti Aidani, Edberti, Edfridi, Ethelwaldi episcoporum, Balterii et Bilfridi anachoritarum. Corpus venerabilis Bedæ presbyteri et doctoris. Ossa sanctarum fœminarum Ebbæ

[a] This list of relics, in a contemporary hand, fills up the bottom of the page of the Cambridge MS., on which the second continuation ends.

et Elfgithæ. Corpus et vestimenta sancti Boisili, qui fuerat magister sancti Cuthberti. Ossa et capilli sancti Ethelwoldi presbyteri, qui successit S. Cuthberto in anachoresi.[a] Caput Ceolwlfi regis et postea monachi in Lindisfarnensi ecclesia.

Fragmentum de electione Hugonis Puteacensis.[b]

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCLIII., in die sancti Vincentii, Laurentius prior et clerus Dunelmensis ecclesiæ Hugonem thesaurarium Eboracensem elegerunt. Sed ejus præcipui electores graves pro eo diu molestias sustinuerunt; nam Henricus archiepiscopus, electionem improbans, omnes personas anathemate innodavit, nec pro rege Stephano vel Eustachio ejus filio, quorum hic erat cognatus,[c] personas absolvere voluit. Tandem, obtinente Thedbaldo archiepiscopo et legato, eos absolvit, sed Hugonem consecrare nullatenus voluit. Unde cum personis Romam profectus Eugenium papam defunctum repperit, et abbas Clarevalensis decessit, ac Henricus archiepiscopus II. Idus Octobris obiit, quorum unusquisque huic adversarius fuit. Unde, nemine jam calumpniatore superstite, XIII. Kal. Jan. Romæ a papa Anastasio consecratus est, et anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCLIV. rediens VI. Non. Maii intronizatus est. Rex etiam Scottorum inclitus David eodem anno apud Karlel IX. Kal. Junii obiit.

A.D. 1153. The monks elect Hugh of Puisac bishop.

The opponents of his election having been carried off by death within a brief period,

he is consecrated at Rome by pope Anastasius.

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[a] At Farne; *see* the *Hist. Eccl.* v. 1.

[b] This fragment is printed in Bedford's edition of the *Historia Dunelmensis* p. 293. He found it in a Durham MS., B. II. 35, f. 277. Some errors in his text I have been enabled to correct through the kindness of the Rev. J. T. Fowler, custodian of Cosin's Library.

[c] John of Hexham (a. 1148) says he was Stephen's nephew.

SYMEONIS MONACHI HISTORIÆ DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIÆ AUCTARIUM.

I. De injusta vexatione Willelmi episcopi I.
II. Historia de Sancto Cuthberto.
III. De obsessione Dunelmi et de Ucthredo comite.
IV. De situ Dunelmi et de reliquiis.
V. Epistola de archiepiscopis Eboraci.
VI. Capitula de miraculis et translationibus Sancti Cuthberti.

I.

De injusta vexatione Willelmi episcopi primi, per Willelmum regem filium Willelmi magni regis.[a]

A.D. 1080. After the murder of bishop Walcher, William of St. Karileph is appointed to the see of Durham.

§ 1. Anno ab Incarnatione Domini MLXXX., interfecto a suis parochianis Walchero episcopo, post VI. menses et decem dies ei successit in præsulatum Dunelmensis ecclesiæ Willelmus, electus V. Idus Novembris, ordinatus a Thoma Eboracensi archiepiscopo die Dominica tertio Nonas Januar. apud Glocester, præsente Willelmo rege, et totius Angliæ astantibus episcopis. Ex clero Baiocensis ecclesiæ in monasterio sancti Karilephi monachico habitu suscepto, primo prior claustri, deinde major prior, postmodum abbas est effectus in monasterio Sancti Vincentii. Postremo, comperta in rebus difficillimis ejus industria, rex Willelmus eum ad episcopum transtulit Dunelmensem. Erat namque acerrimus ingenio, subtilis consilio, magnæ eloquentiæ simul et sapientiæ. Et quia in ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum historia, atque in vita beati

[a] It is not known who wrote this curious account of the trial and exile of bishop William, but he was certainly a contemporary. *See* Introduction.

Cuthberti legerat, monachorum conventum et ante patrem Cuthbertum et post multis annis in hac ecclesia Deo deservisse, sed postmodum supervenientibus paganis cum omnibus pæne ecclesiis et monasteriis deletum, antiquum eidem ecclesiæ sedulo meditabatur servitium reparare. Jussu itaque regis Willelmi Romam adiit, et domino papæ Gregorio qualiter antiquitus et qualiter nunc se Dunelmensis ecclesia habuerit, veraciter ostendit. Rediens cum præcepto et auctoritate apostolica monachicam circa corpus beati Cuthberti vitam restauravit, quinto Kal. Junii, die sancto Pentecostes, tertio anno sui episcopatus, et XVII. anno regni Willelmi. Quo defuncto, Willelmus filius ejus sexto Kal. Octob. in regem consecratur, a quo, sicut a patre, magno honore habebatur episcopus: sed orta inter regem et primates Angliæ magna dissensione, episcopus ab invidis circumventus usque ad expulsionem iram regis pertulit, quam rem sequens libellus manifestat ex ordine.

He restores the monks as guardians of the body of St. Cuthbert.

A.D. 1087.

After the Conqueror's death, William Rufus, Odo's plot having broken out, seizes upon the land of the see of Durham.

Rex Willelmus junior dissaisivit Dunelmensem episcopum de suis et ecclesiæ suæ terris IV. Idus Martii, et homines suos, et omnes res suas, ubicunque potuit, capi fecit; ipsum quoque episcopum capi jussit, et multas ei tetendit insidias: quas Dei nutu evadens episcopus, Dunelmumque veniens, ipsa die qua Dunelmum intravit, legatum suum cum hujusmodi literis regi misit.

§ 2. Willelmo Anglorum regi domino suo, Willelmus Dunelmensis episcopus salutem et fidele servitium.

The bishop writes a letter of remonstrance to the king

"Sciatis, domine, quod homines vestri de Eboraco "et de Lincolnia homines meos in captione detinent, "et terras meas saisiverunt, et meipsum, si possent, "capere voluerunt, et per præceptum vestrum dicunt "se fecisse hæc omnia. Requiro autem vos inde, sicut "dominum meum, ut homines meos et terras meas "cum pecunia mihi reddi faciatis, sicut vestro homini

"et fideli, quem de nullo unquam forisfacto appellastis, et qui vobis nunquam defendit justitiam. Postea vero si me de forisfacto aliquo appellaveritis, præsto sum in curia vestra vobis justitiam facere convenienti termino, securitate veniendi accepta. Precor autem vos diligenter, ne per consilium inimicorum meorum me tam turpiter et inhoneste tractetis, vel injuste dissaisiatis. Non est enim omnium hominum episcopos judicare, et ego vobis secundum ordinem meum omnem justitiam offero; et si ad præsens vultis habere servitium meum vel hominum meorum, illud idem secundum placere vestrum vobis offero."

The king nevertheless grants the see lands to some of his barons, and summons the bishop to his court to clear himself.

§ 3. Rex vero, acceptis et auditis istis literis episcopi, dedit baronibus suis terras episcopi, vidente legato quem sibi miserat episcopus; remandavit autem episcopo, ut ad eum tali conditione veniret, quod si cum eo secundum velle regis remanere nollet, liceret ei Dunelmum secure reverti. Cumque episcopus, auditis hujusmodi responsis, ad regem ire disponeret, præmisit Eboracum ad vicecomitem, quærens ab eo pacem ad requirendum regem. Radulphus vero Paganellus, qui tunc erat vicecomes, non solum episcopo sed et omnibus legatis et hominibus suis regem adire volentibus pacem defendit. Ipsum quoque monachum episcopi, qui de rege redibat, accepit, et equum suum ei occidit; postea peditem abire permisit. Et super hæc omnia præcepit omnibus regis fidelibus de parte regis, ut malum facerent episcopo ubicunque et quomodocunque possent. Cumque episcopus per se vel per legatos suos regem non posset requirere, et terras suas destrui et vastari absque ulla ultione per septem septimanas et amplius sustineret, tandem misit sibi rex abbatem Sancti Augustini, mandans ei ut, sicut prius mandaverat, sibi ad curiam suam cum abbate veniret. Episcopus autem inimicorum suorum insidias cum regis

The bishop wishes to go, but the sheriff of York refuses him a safe conduct.

The king cites him a second time.

ira metuens, sine bono conductu se non posse venire respondit, et legatos suos per abbatis conductum cum subscriptis literis regi misit:

§ 4. Domino suo Willelmo Anglorum regi, Willelmus Dunelmensis episcopus salutem et fidele servitium.

The bishop writes a letter of explanation.

"Notum vobis est, domine, quod postquam ego de "curia vestra veni, statim legatum et literas meas "vobis misi, in quibus servitium meum et omnium "calumniarum rectitudinem vobis ut regi meo et do- "mino præsentavi, misericordiam quoque vestram requi- "sivi, ut homines meos et terras et pecuniam, quam "vicecomites vestri, ubicunque poterant, mihi abstule- "runt, scilicet Offedene et Welletune, quas diviserunt "Odoni et Alano comitibus, cum cæteris terris in "Ewerwickschire, sine ratione aliqua de parte vestra "mihi facta, me semper offerente justitiam, mihi reddi "faceretis, sicut vestro homini et fideli, qui mihi hoc "fieri debere nunquam forisfeceram, sed fideliter ser- "vieram vobis et servire volebam. Vobis vero vice "illa non placuit mea mihi reddere, sicut ego requi- "rebam et justum mihi videbatur, sed per breve ves- "trum pacem mihi dedistis ad vos secure veniendi, et "vobiscum morandi, et a vobis redeundi, et in eodem "brevi fidelibus vestris per totam Angliam præcepis- "tis, ut omnia mea in pace essent donec sciretis si "vobiscum remanerem. Quod breve cum misissem "Radulpho Paganello, non solum mihi pacem negavit, "sed et de parte vestra me diffidavit, et in crastinum "terras ecclesiæ nostræ rapina invasit, prædicta dis- "tribuit, hominum vero quosdam vendidit, quosdam "redimi permisit; monachum autem portantem breve "pacis vestræ homines Paganelli in captione miserunt, "et equum suum ei occiderunt. Super hæc omnia "dictum est mihi vos dedisse partem terrarum mea- "rum; et cum ad vos pro his omnibus mittere vel- "lem, defendit Paganellus legatis meis transitum per "terram vestram. Nunc vero vestri gratia per abba-

"tem Sancti Augustini et litteras vestras mihi mandatis, ut ad vos secure venirem; ego autem precor "vos et requiro sicut regem meum et dominum, ut "mea mihi reddatis, quæ sine ratione et judicio mihi "abstulistis, et ego libenter veniam in curiam vestram, et secundum ordinem meum, quicquid juste "judicabitur, vobis faciam. Si hoc apud vos impetrare "valeo, Deo vobisque gratias inde referam. Si vero "nec[1] modo mea mihi reddere vobis placuerit, paratus sum tamen venire in curiam vestram per talem "conductum qui me salvum conducat usque ad vos, "salvumque reducat quoque usque ad ecclesiam meam, "et videntibus cunctis baronibus vestris me defendam, "quod de dampno corporis vestri, vel vestrarum terrarum, vel honoris vestri, nulli fiduciam vel sacramentum feci vel ab aliquo recepi; nec consilium "vestrum alicui ad dampnum vestrum me sciente detexi: nec dampnum vestrum, ut audivi quod vobis "nocuum esset, celavi, sed quam citius potui vobis "verbo, vel legato, vel litteris notificavi, usque ad eam "diem qua novissime de curia vestra veni. Et hoc "in veritate vobis mando, quod libenter cum hoc abbate venissem, nisi plus inimicos meos, et indoctam "populi multitudinem timuissem, [non] quod de vestro "brevi et baronum vestrorum fiducia dubitassem. "Precor igitur vos, ut talem mihi conductum mittatis, "qui cum honore vestro et salute mea me ducat et "reducat; firmiter enim credo verbo vestro, quod per "voluntatem vestram nemo mihi contumeliam inferret, "sed si contra voluntatem vestram mihi fieret, parum "commodi sequens ultio mihi daret; quod si dissaisitus ad vos venero, nullum aliud placitum præter "purgationis meæ defensionem hac vice subintrabo."

Upon the king's sending him a

§ 5. Rex vero, visis his litteris, misit conductum episcopo, et bene affidavit eum per litteras suas, quod per

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[1] D. Fx.; *nunc*, Bedf.

eum vel per suos homines nullum illi dampnum eveniret usque quo de rege rediens Dunelmum intraret. Perrexit ergo episcopus ad regem, et deprecatus est eum ut rectitudinem sibi consentiret sicut episcopo suo. Rex autem respondit ei, "Quod si laicaliter placitare vellet, et extra pacem quam rex ei dederat "se mitteret, hoc modo rectitudinem sibi consentiret, "et si hoc modo placitare recusaret, Dunelmum face-"ret eum reconduci." Episcopus vero requisivit archiepiscopum Eboracensem et episcopos qui aderant, ut inde sibi consulerent. Episcopi autem responderunt, regem sibi prohibuisse ne ei consulerent. Tunc episcopus archiepiscopum suum, per debitum quod ecclesiæ suæ sibique debebat, summonuit ut sibi consuleret; cumque archiepiscopus regem inde requisisset, remandavit episcopo, se non posse consilium sibi dare. Precatus est ergo regem episcopus, ut consilium archiepiscopi et primatis sui et comparium suorum episcoporum sibi consentiret, et hoc totum sibi defendit rex. Tunc episcopus purgationem sceleris et perjurii regi obtulit, quam cum rex suscipere noluisset, Dunelmum rediit episcopus. Cui rex interim plus quam septingentos homines cum multa præda abstulerat. Misit autem episcopus iterum ad regem quendam suum monachum cum subnotatis litteris:

safe conduct the bishop comes up to London; he demands to be tried as a bishop, but the king will only try him as a feudal tenant.

His metropolitan, and the comprovincial bishops decline to give him advice, through fear of the king.

The plunder of the see continues.

§ 6. Domino suo Willelmo regi Anglorum, Willelmus Dunelmensis episcopus salutem, et, si placet, servitium.

"Notum est vobis, charissime domine, quod ego sæ-"pius per litteras meas et legatos plures misericordiam "vestram requisivi, offerens diligentissime de infideli-"tate et perjurio me purgaturum in curia vestra, recto "judicio mei ordinis; quod quia sic impetrare non "potui, idem requirens ad vos veni, sed inimicorum "meorum prævalente consilio parum mihi profuit. Et "quoniam dilectionem vestram, quam injuste amisi, "recuperare cupio, mando vobis ut domino et regi "meo, quatenus intra securitatem pacis vestræ recti-

Third letter of the bishop, in which he makes a fresh proposal.

"tudinem de me ut de homine et episcopo vestro "secundum rectum mei ordinis judicium recipiatis; et "si adhuc in sententia illa, ut me purgare debeam "laico more, perseveratis, de hoc prius paratus sum "recto judicio judicari, ea quidem conditione, ut si "quis me in justo judicio opprimere voluerit, securi"tate prædictæ pacis conservata, liceat mihi contra"dicere secundum recta judicia mei ordinis in eo loco "ubi canonice judicatum fuerit, et quicquid ibi recte "judicabitur, ex toto profiteor me sequi, sive carcerali "pœna cruciari, seu honoris dignitate privari, vel, quod "concedat Deus, ut justum est, dilectionis vestræ so"latio refoveri, unde convenientem fiduciam præsto "sum dare vobis. Si vero hoc mihi denegatis, et ita "immutabiliter disposuistis quod nullam rectitudinem "mihi consentire velitis, saltem in curia vestra liceat "me purgare recto judicio de calumnia perjurii et in"fidelitatis; nullam enim habeo voluntatem tenere ter"ram de vobis contra voluntatem vestram, talis enim "dominus dedit mihi terram quam habeo, qui me eam "et honorifice tenere permittebat, et multa mihi datu"rum promittebat."

The king sends fresh troops to ravage the bishopric.

§ 7. Rex vero, visis litteris, monachum, qui eos portaverat, capi et custodiri fecit, et exercitum suum misit super episcopum.[a] Et cum exercitus ille incendio et rapina terram vastasset episcopi, locuti sunt barones cum episcopo, et subscriptam conventionem per fidem suam firmaverunt:

Terms of a safe conduct arranged between the bishop and three earls.

"Comes Alanus et Rogerus Putavensis[b] et comes Odo "dederunt fidem suam Dunelmensi episcopo in nativi"tate sanctæ Mariæ, quod cum sanum et salvum ad "curiam regis eum suis omnibus ea conditione con"ducerent, quod si rex ei nollet consentire rectitu-

[a] Compare Magna Carta, § 39, "Nullus liber homo capiatur . . . . "nec super eum ibimus, nec *super* "*eum mittemus*, nisi per legale ju"dicium, &c."

[b] Roger of Poitou was third son of Roger Montgomery the first earl of Shrewsbury; *see* Orderic, book v.

" dinem secundum legem episcopi per tales judices qui " episcopum juste judicare deberent, tunc prædicti co- " mites episcopum cum suis omnibus Dunelmum redu- " cerent absque mora quæ contra voluntatem episcopi " fieret. Si vero tale judicium episcopo diceretur, quod " sibi videretur injustum, et ipse contradiceret, et in " rege vel in judicibus ad confirmandum judicium il- " luc ire remaneret, ubi contentiosa pontificum judicia " juste debent terminari, sicut supradictum est, ad " castellum suum reduceretur episcopus. Et si rex " rectitudinem, quæ juste contradici non posset, epi- " scopo consentiret, et nulla inde contradictio nasce- " retur, vel si nasceretur in rege vel in judicibus, non " remaneret quin ibi judicium suum confirmarent ubi " hujusmodi judicia juste debent confirmari vel destrui, " et episcopus rectitudinem ullam intrare vel facere " vel nollet vel non posset, tunc rex inveniret epi- " scopo sine aliqua detentione vel mora portum et " naves quantum necesse essent sibi et suis omnibus " qui eum sequi vellent, ut ipse eligeret ab Exonia " usque ad Sanguichium, et securitatem et conductum " regis et episcopus et sui haberent, donec ultra mare " ad terram siccam cum rebus suis essent; et liceret " eos per conductum regis secum ducere et portare " aurum et argentum, equos, et pannos, et arma, et " canes, et accipitres, et sua prorsus omnia quæ de " terra portari debent: et quod nulla alia convencia[1] " vel fiducia ab episcopo vel a suis vi vel ingenio " exigeretur, vel aliud facere cogerentur, quam ibidem " episcopus et sui homines Rogero Putaviensi promi- " serunt. Episcopus dedit fidem suam Rogero Puta- " vensi, quod si ipse per præscriptam conditionem cas- " tellum reduceretur, et major fortitudo in castello " missa vel facta esset in hominibus vel in munitione

[1] Sic in MSS.; lege *conventio*.

"vel in castelli fortitudine, quam eadem die ibi erat, "episcopus totum illud destrui faceret, ita quod episcopus inde nullum proficuum haberet nec rex dampnum; et priusquam episcopus intraret viam veniendi "ad curiam, non quæreret vel reciperet dampnum regis de quo male eum tractaret, se sciente, usque "festum sancti Michaelis."

Covenants agreed to on both parts.

§ 8. Præterea juraverunt septem ex præcepto episcopi Rogero Putavensi vice regis hoc suscipienti, quod si episcopus rectam rectitudinem, ut supradictum, recusaret, et[1] transfretare eligeret, ipsi castellum Dunelmense regi[2] redderent. Promisit autem episcopus fidem suam Rogero Putavensi de parte sua, conventionem istam se regi servaturum, quamdiu comitum conventio sibi attenderetur, sine omni malo ingenio, excepto ingenio placiti quod facturus erat contra regem. Comites vero promiserunt episcopo fidem suam, regem sibi servaturum conventionem istam, et quod inceptio placiti non differ[r]etur ultra proximum festum sancti Michaelis, nisi per consensum episcopi, vel per tales terminos quales judices legales dictis causis inter regem et episcopum juste poni debere decernerent: et si aliquem hominum vel equorum episcopi contingeret ægrotare, ipsi et eorum custodes pacem regis haberent, quamdiu eos infirmitas detineret, et postea vel alii homines episcopi per conductum regis post episcopum ducerentur, qui vero vellent per consensum episcopi remanere et fidelitatem regi facere cum suis omnibus pacifice remanerent. Quod si rex præscriptam conventionem aliquo modo frangeret, in comitibus vel in suorum quolibet, per eorum voluntatem vel consensum, nullum ulterius proficuum haberent, donec episcopus sine vi vel ingenio eos inde gratanter absolveret.

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[1] Fx.; om. D. | [2] Fx.; om. D.

§ 9. Accepta igitur fide ista, respectatum est utrinque placitum usque in quarto nonas Novembris. Ea vero die venit episcopus Salisbiriam, quem cum Ursus de Habetot, unus ex servientibus regis, ad regem intrare moneret, præmisit episcopus legatos suos ad regem, et deprecatus est eum ut liceret ei loqui cum quibusdam fratrum suorum episcoporum qui aderant. Nemo enim illorum, ut aiebant, audebat eum osculari vel alloqui, quod episcopus jam de ipso metropolitano suo expertus erat. Cumque rex hoc facturum se negasset, nec eorum ullus hanc fraternitatis vicem et legis sanctæ præceptum ei exhiberet, ingressus tandem episcopus requisivit ab archiepiscopis utrum revestitus ingredi deberet, dixitque, "Nihil se prorsus acturum "ibi nisi canonice et secundum ordinem suum, et sibi "videbatur quod ecclesiastica consuetudo exigebat, ut "ipse revestitus ante revestitos causam suam diceret, "et causantibus canonice responderet." Cui Lanfrancus archiepiscopus respondens, "Bene possumus," inquit, "hoc modo vestiti de regalibus tuisque negotiis dis-"ceptare, vestes enim non impediunt veritatem."

The bishop comes to the court Salisbury

he is not allowed to confer with any of the bishops there.

About vestments.

§ 10. Episcopus ergo surgens precatus est regem, ut episcopatum suum quem jamdiu sine judicio abstulerat sibi redderet. Lanfrancus vero, rege tacente, dixit, "Rex de episcopatu tuo nihil tibi abstulit, vel aliquis "per eum, neque breve suum vidisti per quod te de "episcopatu tuo dissaisiret vel dissaisiri præciperet." Et episcopus, "Vidi," inquit, "Rogerum Paganellum, "quem hic video, qui ex præcepto regis me dissaisivit "de toto episcopatu meo quem habeo in Eboracensi "comitatu. Cumque ego per litteras et legatos meos "regem inde requisissem, deprecans ut res meas mihi "redderet, et si de qualibet causa me calumniari vel-"let, de me sicut de ipso suo episcopo plenam recti-"tudinem reciperet, rex mihi nihil reddidit, sed baro-"nibus suis terras ecclesiæ prout sibi placuit distribuit. "Postea vero, cum per memetipsum in curia sua regi

The bishop demands that his bishopric be restored; Lanfranc replies that it has never been taken from him.

The bishop shows that all the Yorkshire lands belonging to the see have been violently taken from him.

"plenam rectitudinem obtulissem, et ipse eam penitus "mihi denegasset, non solum quod prius abstulerat "detinuit, sed quicquid mihi supererat auferri præcepit, "misitque baronibus suis ad partes nostras litteras "sigillatas, conjurans eos et præcipiens ut quicquid "mali poterant mihi facerent. Et cum nec ista sibi "sufficerent, misit comites et barones cum exercitu "suo, et per eos totum episcopatum meum vastavit, "terras quoque et homines et pecuniam sancti Cuth-"berti et meam mihi abstulit, nostram etiam sedem "me ad tempus abjurare coegit. Ipsi etiam casati "ecclesiæ, qui mei homines ligii fuerant, et quicquid "habebant de casamento ecclesiæ tenebant, ex præcepto "regis guerram mihi fecerunt, et terras suas de rege "tenentes pacifice, hic eos cum rege video adversum "me convenisse." Lanfrancus ergo dixit, "Rex te "invitat, ut rectitudinem sibi facias, et barones sui "ad hoc te adduxerunt ut rectitudinem sibi facias, "et tu requiris ut ipse tibi prior rectitudinem faciat; "fac sibi prius rectitudinem, et postea require ab eo "hoc quod modo requiris." Cui respondens episcopus ait, "Domine archiepiscope, hoc quod modo dicitis, dici-"tis pro consilio vel pro judicio?" "Certe," inquit, "non dico pro judicio; sed si rex mihi crediderit, sa-"tis cito faciet inde judicium fieri." Tunc laici hujusmodi verbis Lanfranci, totius Angliæ primatis, animati, adversus episcopum exclamantes dixerunt, injustum esse quod rex episcopo responderet, antequam regi fecisset justitiam.

besides other grievances.

Lanfranc says that the bishop must first render account to the king for what is charged against him, and then bring up his complaints.

The barons applaud the words of Lanfranc.

§ 11. Laicis vero hæc et alia multa declamantibus et iterantibus, facto silentio dixit episcopus; "Do-"mini barones et laici, permittite me, quæso, quæ "dicturus sum regi dicere, archiepiscopis et episcopis "respondere, quia nihil vobis habeo dicere, et sicut "huc non veni judicium vestrum recepturus, ita illud "omnino recuso; et si domino nostro regi et archi-"episcopis et episcopis placuisset vos huic negotio

The bishop addresses them, and declares that he will not have them for his judges.

"interesse, nec me taliter obloqui decuisset." Tunc rex ait, "Sperabam quod episcopus prius mihi respondere deberet de his de quibus eum accusarem, et multum miror quod ipse aliud requirit." Comes vero Alanus et comes Rogerus dixerunt, "Ad hoc episcopum adduximus, ut ipse regi rectitudinem faciat." "Præsto sum," inquit episcopus, "si mihi canonice judicatur despoliatus respondere, nullo enim modo ordinis mei legem in hoc placito transgrediar." Tunc Rogerus Bygotus dixit regi, "Vos debetis episcopo dicere unde eum appellare vultis, et postea, si ipse nobis voluerit respondere, de responsione sua facite eum judicari; sin autem, facite inde quod barones vestri vobis consulerint.[1]" Ad hæc episcopus, "Jam dixi, et iterum dicam, quod laicale judicium, et quicquid est contra canones, prorsus respuo; nec aliquam accusationem recipio nisi prius de episcopatu meo investiar, vel canonice mihi judicetur, quod ante investituram debeam accusari, et respondere, et judicari." Tunc Hugo de Bello-monte ex præcepto regis surgens dixit episcopo, "Rex te appellat, quod cum ipse audivit quod inimici sui super eum veniebant, et homines sui, episcopus scilicet Baiocensis, et Rogerus comes, et alii plures regnum suum pariter sibi et coronam auferre volebant, et ipse per consilium tuum contra illos equitabat, ipse te, me audiente, summonuit, ut cum eo equitares; tu vero respondisti ei, te cum septem militibus, quos ibi habebas, libenter iturum, et pro pluribus ad castellum tuum sub festinatione missurum; et postea fugisti de curia sua sine ejus licentia, et quosdam de familia sua tecum adduxisti, et ita in necessitate sua sibi defecisti; et modo vult ut inde sibi facias quod curia sua judicabit, et si necesse fuerit postea te pluribus appellabit." Episcopus autem Hugoni respondit, "Hugo, dicas quicquid volueris, non tibi tamen hodie respon-

The king confirms what Lanfranc had said.

Roger Bigod suggests that the king's accusations shall be made known to the bishop, and his reply be considered.

The bishop still rejects a lay court, and requires to be replaced in his former state before meeting any accusations.

Hugh de Beaumont then brings forward the king's charge of treachery against the bishop.

The bishop refuses to answer, until it has been

[1] Sic codices.

canonically decided that he is bound to do so.

"debo, nec accusationem aliquam recipiam, vel placitum aliquod ingrediar usque quo juste judicetur quod dispoliatus debeam placitare, vel canonice de episcopatu meo investiar; et postea de quibuscunque rex me appellaverit voluntarie respondebo, et quicquid feci, me legaliter fecisse monstrabo, faciamque, dictante justitia, quod in nullo prorsus reus inveniar."

Anger of the barons.

Tumque multum tumultuantes laici, quidam rationibus, quidam vero contumeliis adversus episcopum deiterarent, et ipse ei[s] nullo modo respondere vellet.

The bishop of Coutances suggests that the points raised should be referred to a committee of bishops and lay lords.

G. Constantiensis episcopus [a] ait, "Domini archiepiscopi, nos non oporteret diutius hæc ita considerare, sed deceret nos surgere, et episcopos et abbates convocare, quosdam etiam baronum et comitum istorum nobiscum habere; et cum eis juste decernere, si episcopus debeat prius investiri, vel ante investituram de querelis regis intrare in placitum."

Lanfranc proposes that, instead of this, the accused should leave the court while it deliberates on what justice demands.

Ad hæc Landfrancus archiepiscopus, "Non est necesse," inquit, "nos surgere, sed episcopus et homines sui egrediantur, et nos remanentes, tam clerici quam laici, consideremus æqualiter, quid inde juste facere debeamus." "Ego," inquit episcopus, "libenter egrediar, sed bene vobis dico, archiepiscopi et episcopi, ut quicquid in mea causa feceritis, ordinabiliter et canonice faciatis, nec eos in vestro judicio habeatis quos ab episcoporum judiciis decreta sequestrant et canones."

Conversation in the court.

"Vade," inquit Lanfrancus archiepiscopus, "nos enim juste faciemus quicquid fecerimus." Hugo de Bello-monte dixit episcopo, "Si ego hodie te et tuum ordinem judicare non potero, tu vel tuus ordo nunquam me amplius judicabitis." "Vide autem," inquit episcopus, "qui in domo ista remanent et me judicare disponunt, ut et canonicos judices habeant, et cano-

[a] Geoffrey de Moubrai, bishop of Coutances, came over with the Conqueror, and rendered important service on the field of Senlac. He was rewarded by the grant of 280 English manors. See Ord. Vit. iv. 7.

"nice me judicent; si enim aliter agerent, eorum "judicia penitus recusarem."

§ 12. Egresso itaque episcopo cum suis, et rege cum suis episcopis et consulibus, et vicecomitibus, et præpositis, et venatoribus, aliisque quorumlibet officiorum, in judicio remanente, et post diutinas moras revocato et reverso episcopo, Thomas Eboracensis archiepiscopus ait, "Domine episcope, dominus noster archiepiscopus, et "regis curia, vobis judicat quod rectitudinem regi "facere debetis antequam de vestro feodo revestiat." Et episcopus respondit, "Investituram episcopatus mei "mihi reddi precatus, dispoliatus sum enim sine omni "vocatione et judicio, et de episcopatu judicandus, "exivi domum istam, et inde requiro judicium; quod "nullus mihi hodie, vel ego alicui, de feodo feci "verbum." Et idem archiepiscopus ait, "Vobis judi-"cat curia ista, quia de nulla re debet vos rex res-"saisire, antequam sibi rectitudinem faciatis." Et episcopus, "Vellem," inquit, "mihi canonicam aliquam "sententiam demonstrari, per quam judicium istud "canonicum esse cognoscerem; judicium enim hujus-"modi nec ecclesiasticis usibus nec in lege Christiana "didici vel audivi; et si judicium contra canones sus-"ciperem, in sanctam Dei ecclesiam, et in sanctum "sacerdotalem ordinem graviter peccarem; quod enim "ad præsens me fortassis parum læderet, plures in "posterum hoc exemplo confunderet. Ideoque certam "mihi quæso monstrare sententiam, per quod justum "hoc esse cognoscam." Tunc Lanfrancus archiepiscopus ait, "Judicium illud justum est, et illud oportet "te concedere et sequi, vel contradicere." Et episcopus, "Vellem," inquit, "ex consensu regis et vestro "cum quibusdam episcoporum istorum loqui, et per "eorum consilium facienda facere et dimittenda dimit-"tere." Et Lanfrancus archiepiscopus ait, "Episcopi "sunt judices, et eos ad consilium tuum habere non "debes." "Precor," inquit episcopus, "regem ut illos

The bishop goes out.

On his return the archbishop of York tells him what the court has decided.

The bishop still demurs, but desires to be advised by his brethren.

Lanfranc replies that the bishops are judges in the case, and cannot give counsel.

The king adds that he must confer with his own followers.

" mihi consentiat, et eos ut mihi fraterna consulant " caritate." Rex vero respondit, " Cum tuis tibi con" sule, quia de nostris in consilio tuo nullum pror" sus habebis." Et episcopus, " Parum consilii," inquit, " in his septem hominibus habeo contra virtutem " atque scientiam totius hujus regni, quod hic adver" sum me video congregatam."

The bishop does so, and then repudiates the authority of the court;

§ 13. Accepta tamen consilii licentia, et egresso cum suis episcopo, et in placitum regresso, archiepiscopo ait, " Judicium quod hic dictum est respuo, quia con" tra canones et contra legem nostram factum est, " neque enim ego canonice vocatus sum, sed coactus " vi regalis exercitus adsum, et dispoliatus episcopio " extra provinciam meam, absentibus omnibus com" provincialibus meis, in laicali conventu causam meam " dicere compellor, et inimici mei, qui mihi consilium " et colloquium suum et pacis osculum denegant, post" positis dictis meis de his quæ non dixi me judi" cant, et accusatores sunt simul et judices. Et in " lege nostra prohibitum invenio, ne tale judicium sus" cipiam, quod ex fatuitate mea vellem suscipere. Ar" chiepiscopus et primas meus Dei ordinisque respectu " ab hujusmodi præsumptione me deberent caritative " compescere. Et quia per regis odium vos omnes " adversarios sentio, apostolicam sedem, Romanam sanc" tam ecclesiam, et beatum Petrum ejusque vicarium " appello, ut ipsius ordinatione negotii mei justam sen" tentiam suscipere merear; cujus dispositioni majores " causas ecclesiasticas et episcoporum judicia antiqua " apostolorum eorumque successorum atque canonum " auctoritas reservavit." Tunc Lanfrancus archiepiscopus respondit, "Nos non de episcopio sed de tuo te " feodo judicamus, et hoc modo judicavimus Baiocen" sem episcopum ante patrem hujus regis de feodo " suo, nec rex vocabat eum episcopum in placito illo, " sed fratrem et comitem." Et episcopus ait, " Do" mine archiepiscope, ego nullam feci hodie mentio-

and appeals to Rome.

Lanfranc maintains that it is in his feudal, not his episcopal character that the bishop is being judged.

"nem, vel feodum habere me dixi, sed de episcopii "mei dissaisione conquestus sum et conqueror." Et archiepiscopus, "Si nunquam," inquit, "audiam te lo-"qui de feodo, scio te tamen magnum feodum habu-"isse, et inde te judicavimus." Et episcopus, "Do-"mine archiepiscope, modo audio quod vos omnia "dicta mea dimisistis, et de vestra me conscientia "judicastis; sed quia Dei gratia sapientissimus et "nominatissimus estis, in hoc sapere vestrum tam "sublime intelligo, quod parvitas mea illud compre-"hendere non potest; sed apostolicam sedem, quam "ex necessitate appellavi, per licentiam regis et ves-"tram adire volo." "Egredere," inquit archiepiscopus, "et rex, cum suis habito consilio, dicet tibi quid "sibi placuerit." Cumque episcopus egrederetur, et vocatus regrederetur, Hugo de Bello-monte surgens dixit episcopo, "Domine episcope, regis curia et ba-"rones isti vobis pro justo judicant, quando sibi vos "respondere non vultis de his de quibus vos per me "appellavit, sed de placito suo invitatis eum Ro-"mam quod vos feodum vestrum inde forisfacitis." Et episcopus respondit, "In omni loco in quo non "violentia sed justitia dominetur, de scelere et per-"jurio me purgare paratus sum, et hoc quod hic pro "judicio recitasti in Romana ecclesia falsum et in-"juste dictum esse monstrabo." "Ego," inquit Hugo, "et compares mei parati sumus judicium nostrum in "curia confirmare." Et episcopus respondit, "In curia "ista nullum ad præsens placitum subintrabo, quia "nihil ibi tam bene dicerem, quin fautores regis de-"pravando perverterent, qui, ipsammet non reveren-"tes apostolicam auctoritatem, post ejus appellationem "me judicio non legali gravant; sed Dei et sancti "Petri postulans auxilium Romam vadam." Tunc rex ait, "Modo volo ut castellum tuum mihi reddas, quo-"niam judicium meæ curiæ non sequeris." Et episcopus respondit, "Nunquam vobis in conventione

The bishop asks license to go to Rome.

The court deliberates, and then

Hugh de Beaumont informs the bishop that for his refusal to plead he is adjudged to have forfeited his fief.

Conversation.

The king says that he must give up his castle before going to Rome.

"habui, me castellum meum vobis redditurum, nisi "canonicum judicium sequi nollem, et si judicii "contradictio oriretur, illuc ire ad contradicendum "recusarem, ubi contradictionis hujusmodi finalem "sententiam juste deberem suscipere. Et ego præsto "sum judicia mihi facta in Romana ecclesia contra-"dicere, de qua pendet et pependit ab apostolorum "tempore et infra ordinis mei diffinitiva sententia." Et rex ait, "Per vultum de Luca! numquam exibis "de manibus meis, donec castellum habeam." Et episcopus respondit, "Domine mi rex, ego passus "sum per tres servientes vestros auferri mihi terras "et pecuniam ecclesiæ, præsentibus centum meis mi-"litibus, et in nullo prorsus vobis restiti; et cum "nihil mihi remanserit de episcopatu meo præter "urbem ipsam in qua sedes est ecclesiæ, et eandem "mihi auferre vultis, nulla nisi Dei virtute resistam "vobis. Sed de parte Dei et sancti Petri et ejus "vicarii domini papæ dico vobis ne eam mihi au-"feratis. Paratus sum enim bonos obsides et fiducias "dare vobis, quod homines mei quos ibi, dum Ro-"mam vado, volo dimittere, in fidelitate vestra eam "custodient, et si volueritis libenter vobis servient." Tunc rex ait, "In veritate credas, episcope, quod "nullo modo Dunelmum reverteris et quod homines "tui Dunelmi nullatenus remanebunt, nec tu manus "meas evades donec castellum tuum liberum mihi "reddas." "Bene," inquit episcopus, "confido de fide "quam mihi comites promiserunt, quod usque ad ec-"clesiam meam securus perducar, sicut inter nos con-"ditio firmata est, et ipsi coram vobis in hoc placito "cognoverunt." Tunc Lanfrancus archiepiscopus dixit regi, "Si episcopus amplius castellum suum vobis con-"tradixerit, bene eum capere potestis, quia conduc-"tum, quem hactenus habuit, nunc dimittit, cum prior "conventionem frangit, et barones vestros probare ap-"petit, quod fidem suam servaverint non bene." Tunc

The bishop protesting against this,

the king insists, and says that he shall not escape from his hands before surrendering the castle.

The bishop appeals to the three earls.

Lanfranc speaks against him.

Radulphus Piperellus et omnes laici unanimiter conclamantes dixerunt, "Capite eum, capite eum, bene "enim loquitur iste vetulus ligaminarius."

§ 14. Quod Alanus comes audiens surrexit et dixit, "Ego eum interposita fide mea de castello suo eduxi, "et ad regis curiam adduxi, ea conditione quod si "rex nollet ei consentire justitiam quæ juste contra- "dici non posset, sicut episcopo suo, ego eum ad "castellum suum cum suis omnibus sanum reducerem, et si rex ei rectitudinem sicut episcopo suo, "quæ juste contradici non posset, offerret, et ipse "eam sequi vel nollet vel non posset, tunc rex sibi "et suis omnibus secundum voluntatem episcopi, ubi "ipse eligeret, ab Exonia usque ad Sanguicium na- "ves et portum inveniret, et liceret ei omnes homi- "nes suos quos ipse vellet, et qui cum eo ire vel- "lent, cum omnibus suis et eorum pecunia secum "ducere per securitatem et conductum regis usque "quo ultra mare ad siccam terram cum rebus suis "essent. Et multum precor dominum meum regem "ne fidem meam inde faciat me mentiri, nullum enim "proficuum in me haberet ulterius." Cumque hoc idem comites Rogerus et Odo precarentur, Lanfrancus archiepiscopus ait, "Rex bene vos adquietavit; plenam "namque rectitudinem episcopo obtulit, et ipse eam "vobis audientibus recusavit. Regem quoque Romam "injuste invitavit. Recognoscat igitur episcopus nos "justum fecisse judicium, et se illud sequi nolle, et "rex sibi naves inveniet et conductum." Et episcopus, "Bene," inquit, "vos moneo, comites, qui promissa "fide vestra me ducendum suscepistis, ut me Dunel- "mum reducatis, quia rex mihi nullam rectitudinem "consentit, et hoc paratus sum in Romana ecclesia "demonstrare." "Non est," inquit Lanfrancus, "jus- "tum ut placitum vel judicium regis pro aliqua con- "tradictione longius procedat, sed quotiens in curia "sua judicium agitur, ibidem necesse est ut conceda-

Alan states the substance of the convention between the earls and the bishop.

After much discussion

tur vel contradicatur. Tu ergo judicium nostrum vel hic concede, vel hic evidenti ratione contradicito." Ad hæc episcopus, "Hic," inquit, "optime contradico, "et Romæ, ubi debeo, et ubi justicia magis quam vio-"lentia dominatur, hujus contradictionis sententiam "suscipere appeto. Et quia nemo vestrum judicando "vel testificando dicere audet quod regi displiceat, "cum alios testes non habeam, Christianam legem, "quam hic scriptam habeo, testem invoco, me Romam, "sicut dixi, juste posse pergere, et hujus causæ finalem "sententiam ex auctoritate Romani pontificis debere "procedere." Et rex ait, "Dicas licet quicquid velis, "non tamen effugies manus meas nisi castellum prius "mihi reddas." Et episcopus respondit, "Cum vos non "solum episcopatum, verum et omnia mea injuste ab-"stuleritis, et ipsam modo sedem violenter auferre "velitis, pro nulla re quam facere possim, capi me "patiar."

the bishop consents to surrender his castle.

§ 15. Constituta est ergo dies qua episcopus urbem suis hominibus vacuaret, et rex suos ibi poneret; tunc episcopus dixit regi, "Domine mi rex, a vobis scire "volo, si de episcopatu meo aliquid mihi dimittetis, "unde saltem vivere valeam?" Et Lanfrancus archiepiscopus respondit, "Tu pro regis dampno et omnium "nostrorum dedecore vadis Romam, et ipse tibi terram "dimitteret? remane in terra sua, et ipse episcopatum "tuum præter urbem tibi reddet, ea conditione, quod "in curia sua judicio baronum suorum rectitudinem "sibi facias." "Ego," inquit episcopus, "apostolicam "sedem appellavi, quia in curia ejus nullum justum "judicium audio, et nullo modo dimittam quin illuc "vadam." "Si tu," inquit archiepiscopus, "sine regis "licentia Romam perrexeris, nos dicemus ei quid de "episcopatu tuo sibi sit faciendum." Et episcopus, "Vos," inquit, "ad præsens ad opus meum nil boni "sibi dicitis, et quicquid vultis satis libere dicere "potestis; sed antequam hinc decedam paratus sum

Question as to a portion of his revenues being allowed to him.

The bishop declares that he is ready to prove that he has

" coram omnibus baronibus istis ab omni scelere et " perjurio me purgare et modis omnibus me defen- " dere, quod dampnum regis de corpore suo vel de " terra sua nullo modo, me sciente, feci vel quæsivi, " et quod inde nulli fiduciam feci vel ab aliquo re- " cepi; et cum prius hoc dampnum suum intellexi, " eum inde quam citius potui præmunivi, et contra " hostes suos fideliter eum juvi, et hoc legaliter me " fecisse monstrabo. Monstrabo enim quod Dorober- " nium et Hastingas, quæ jam pæne perdiderat, in " sua fidelitate detinui; Londoniam quoque, quæ jam " rebellaverat, in ejus fidelitate sedavi; meliores etiam " duodecim ejusdem urbis cives ad eum mecum duxi, " ut per illos melius ceteros animaret. Et hoc ita " me fecisse, per testimonium baronum suorum, si eis " licentiam dederit, demonstrabo; et multum precor " eum ut purgationem quam prædixi modo suscipiat, " et postmodum servitium meum juste me monstrare " permittat, et, si ei placeret, et benignam eis licen- " tiam dare vellet, ad hanc purgationem faciendam " plures episcoporum istorum testes haberem." Et cum hoc multum multoties deprecaretur episcopus, et rex omnino recusaret, Lanfrancus archiepiscopus ait episcopo, "Melius ageres si in misericordiam regis to- " tum te poneres, et ego ad pedes ejus libenter tui " causa venirem." Et episcopus, "Misericordiam," inquit, "ejus obnixe deprecor, ut pro amore Dei, et " honore sanctæ Ecclesiæ, judicia quæ hic ad detri- " mentum sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ et confusionem sanc- " torum ordinum, et Christianæ legis ignominiam in- " juste prolata sunt, legaliter faciat emendari, et " propter hoc libenter ei serviam, et de meo, si pla- " ceat, ei tribuam." "Ex toto," inquit archiepiscopus, " in misericordia ejus te pone, et judicio curiæ suæ " refragare penitus dimitte." Et episcopus, "Absit," inquit, "ut judicium contra canones, immo ad dis- " tructionem canonum, suscipiam vel concedam." Tunc rex ait, "Faciat mihi episcopus fiduciam, quod damp-

always truly and loyally served the king.

Lanfranc advises him to throw himself on the king's mercy.

The bishop declines.

Dispute about the security required for the safe return of the ships which the king might furnish to the bishop for his passage to Normandy.

"num meum citra mare non quærat vel recipiat, et "quod naves meas, quas sibi inveniam, non detine- "bit frater meus, vel aliquis suorum, ad dampnum "meum, contra nautarum voluntatem." Et episcopus respondit, "Domine, comites nostri fidem suam mihi "promiserunt, quod nullam fiduciam ego vel homines "mei facere cogeremur vi vel ingenio, super fiduciam "quam eis Dunelmi fecimus, et hanc quam modo "fiduciam quæritis, nullo modo nisi coactus faciam." Et Reginaldus Paganellus ait, "Certe comites vestri pro- "miserunt hoc quod dicit episcopus, et convenienter "inde eos custodite." "Tace," inquit rex, "quia pro "nullius fiducia naves meas perdere patiar. Sed si "episcopus inde se fiduciam fecisse cognoverit, super "illam aliam non requiram." Et episcopus ait, "De "multis rebus baronibus vestris fiduciam nos fecisse "cognosco, et super illam nec vos quærere, nec ego "aliam facere debeo." Tunc rex iratus ait, "Per vul- "tum Luca! in hoc anno mare non transibis, nisi fidu- "ciam, quam de navibus requiro, prius modo feceris." "Faciam," inquit episcopus, "hanc et multo majorem, "si necesse fuerit, fiduciam, ante quam hic in captione "detinear, sed bene omnes audiant, quod ea invitus "faciam et captionis timore coactus." Fecit itaque episcopus fiduciam, et naves et conductum quæsivit; et rex ait, "Nullum conductum habebis, sed Wiltone mora- "beris, donec ego vere sciam quod castellum habeam "in mea potestate, et tunc demum naves recipies et "conductum." Et episcopus respondit, "Cum quod "vellem et deberem facere non valeam, hoc ipsum "quod dicitis injuste patiar, et coactus."

The bishop gives security; the king directs him to stay at Wilton till he hears of the surrender of Durham castle.

William de Merlao accuses the bishop's men of cattle lifting.

§ 16. Tunc Willelmus de Merlao surgens dixit regi, "Domine, homines episcopi, qui in castello suo sunt, "abstulerunt domino meo Constantiensi episcopo [a] octa

[a] See note at p. 182.

"animalia in conductu vestro, priusquam episcopus "modo venit ad curiam vestram; et dominus meus "requisivit eos ut sibi redderent pecuniam suam, et "noluerunt. Postea vero præcepit eis Walterus de "Haiencorn de parte vestra ut redderent pecuniam, "et noluerunt. Modo autem precamur vos, ut facia- "tis domino meo reddi pecuniam suam." Et rex ait, "Videant barones isti, si ego juste possum implacitare "episcopum." Et Lanfrancus archiepiscopus ait, "In- "justum esset si amplius implacitaretis eum, cum de "vobis nihil teneat, et securum conductum habere "debeat."

Lanfranc says the king cannot justly entertain the charge, for the bishop now holds nothing from him.

§ 17. Recessit itaque illa die episcopus ad eligendum portum, rediturus in crastinum. Die vero crastina requisivit comitem Alanum, ut Hamptone sibi naves et portum inveniret. Quod cum rex audisset, dixit episcopo, "Bene scias, episcope, quod nunquam transfre- "tabis, donec castellum tuum habeam. Episcopus "enim Baiocensis inde me castigavit, sed bene vide "ut castellum Dunelmi homines mei habeant XVIII. "Kal. Decemb., et si homines mei ea die castellum "habuerint in mea potestate, tunc sine ulla dubita- "tione vel mora habebis naves et conductum." Præcepit itaque Gilberto vicecomiti, audiente episcopo et Alano comite ceterisque baronibus suis, ut XI. Kal. Decembr. liberaret episcopo tot naves Hamptone quot sibi suisque ad transfretandum essent necessariæ. Episcopus autem dixit Alano comiti, "Domine comes, "videte vos et socii vestri, per quorum fidem debeo "conduci, ne ultra hunc terminum disturbar; et dum "in Anglia fuero, habetote mecum unum bonum homi- "nem, qui et hospitia mihi inveniat, et ab impedi- "mento me defendat, ut et vos de vestra fiducia salvi "sitis et ego non fatiger ulterius." Et comes Alanus respondit, "Hoc faciet vobis rex per quendam suum "servientem." Remansit itaque episcopus Wiltone, et Robertus de Comitis-villa cum eo, ut hospitia ei libe-

Arrangements for crossing from Southampton.

raret, et eum secure conduceret Hamptonam termino constituto, ad recipiendas naves et ventum expectandum.

Durham castle surrendered to the king's men.

§ 18. Acceperunt ergo Ino Taillesboci et Ernesius de Burone castellum Dunelmense in manus regis, et dissaisiverunt episcopum de ecclesia et de castello, et de omni terra sua XVIII. Kal. Decembr.; et liberaverunt hominibus episcopi Helponem balistarium regis, et breve regis de foris sigillatum, hæc verba continentem:

Copy of the royal license for crossing the sea.

"Willelmus rex Anglorum omnibus fidelibus suis per "totam Angliam salutem. Sciatis Dunelmensem episcopum et omnes suos homines pacem meam habere "per totum regnum Angliæ, et licentia et pace mea "mare transire: ideoque defendo omnibus meæ potestatis hominibus, ne aliquid mali eis faciant."

Proceedings at Durham.

Cum autem sperarent homines episcopi securos se esse, per comitum fiduciam et per sigillum regis et conductum Helponis, accepit Ino Taillesbosci duos milites episcopi, et coegit eos placitare de animalibus Constantiensis episcopi, de quibus judicatum fuerat ante regem Dunelmensi episcopo, non debere respondere. Et iterum fecit auferri Ino Taillesbosci cuidam militi episcopi equum suum in prædicto conductu. Episcopus vero requisivit Gilbertum et Robertum, XI. Kal. Decembr., ut naves sibi liberarent, et liceret e transfretare cum Rogero de Molbraio qui eodem termino transfretaret. Et illi responderunt, se nullam sibi navem liberaturos, et dixerunt regem sibi præcepisse, ut bene servarent episcopum ne de potestate regis exiret, usquequo quid de eo fieri præciperet, illis per suas sigillatas litteras remandaret. Servaverunt itaque episcopum usque VI. Kal. Decembr., et ea die adduxit eum Robertus Hamptonam; quo cum venisset episcopus, naves intrare voluit; erat enim ventus bonus et omnia ad transfretandum prospera. Prædicti vero servientes regis defenderunt ei naves et transitum; et in crastinum, cum ventum defecisse

Many vexatious obstacles are put in the way of the bishop's departure.

viderunt, dederunt episcopo transfretandi licentiam, et liberaverunt ei naves. Episcopus ergo dato naulo ventum necessarium expectavit.

§ 19. Postea venerunt ad eum O. Salesbiriensis episcopus, et Robertus de Insula et Ricardus de Cultura, et summonuerunt eum de parte regis, Kal. Decembr., ut in Nativitate Domini esset Londoniæ ad curiam regis, et faceret ei rectitudinem de Gaufrido monacho suo, qui, postquam episcopus ad curiam venerat, de dominicatu episcopi quingenta et triginta novem animalia acceperat, et munitionem castelli abstulerat; et de quibusdam suis aliis hominibus qui unum hominem regis occiderant. Episcopus vero respondit eis, "Per "me nihil horum factum est; et ego et homines mei "conductum securum habemus; et ad curiam ejus "amplius ire non possum, ipse enim omnia mea mihi "abstulit, et equos meos jam venditos manducavi: "sed si ipse me et meos homines abire permiserit, "et fidem comitum suorum servaverit, Romanam ec-"clesiam, quam ex necessitate appellavi, Deo mise-"rante, requiram. Sin autem, antequam capiar, me "solum ab his omnibus quæ meis hominibus impo-"nitis hic coram vobis per sacramenta defendam, "quod per præceptum meum vel per conscientiam "meam nihil horum factum est, quamvis juste facere "potuissem; potui enim de meis facere quicquid vo-"lui, usquequo de mea sede me dissaisivit." Tunc ministri regis dixerunt episcopo, "Modo defendimus "tibi naves." Et episcopus respondit, "Rex omnem "terram et pecuniam meam mihi abstulit, et si ho-"mines meos auferre voluerit, pro nullo eorum in "placitum intrabo, sed solus, mihi si liceat, transfre-"tabo." Misit autem episcopus ad regem quendam suum militem, et deprecatus est eum, ut pro amore Dei et sancti Petri eum Romam ire permitteret. Rex vero misit ei Wintoniensem episcopum, et Hugonem de Portu, et Gaufridum de Traileio, et per illos sibi

Osmund.

The king cites him to appear in his court on Christmas day.

mandavit, ut Gaufridum monachum ad placitandum de prædictis forisfactis Dunelmum mitteret, et ipse Londoniam iret, ut in Nativitate Domini de hominibus suis ibi rectitudinem regi faceret. Quibus episcopus respondit, "Ego semper, ex quo conventionem cum "regis comitibus feci, in regis custodia mansi; et "comites mihi fidem suam promiserunt, quod si castellum Dunelmense traderetur regi, ego et homines "mei, qui me sequi vellent, securum conductum habe-"remus, et naves et portum, absque detentione vel "mora per aliquem hominem contra voluntatem meam "mihi facta. Cum rex Dunelmum habeat, et nos per "conductum regis et comitum ad portum venerimus, "et naves per præceptum regis receperimus, et pre-"tium pro eis dederimus, et apostolicam sedem requi-"rendo Romam tendamus, multum peccat qui nos ita "detinet. Præsto sum tamen, si propter hoc me ab-"ire permiseritis, sine dilatione me purgare coram "vobis, quod nihil horum quæ dicitis, per præceptum "meum vel per conscientiam meam factum est, vel "quod ego unius panis pretium inde non habui, vel "expecto habere. Postea, si homines meos retinuerit, "sustineant quicquid eis fecerit, quia pro nullo dimit-"tam quin Romam vadam, si captione ista valeam "liberari." Tunc servientes regis fecerunt episcopum die noctuque custodiri; episcopus ergo tristis misit ad comites Alanum et Rogerum et Odonem, mandans eis impedimenta sua; et conjuravit eos per eam fidem quam in baptismo susceperant, et quam sibi promiserant, ut eum de captione sua liberarent, et naves sibi et portum et conductum sine mora invenirent, et impedimentum et dampnum quod injuste sustinebat juste sibi emendarent. Tandem de illorum instantia rex permisit episcopo transitum.

The bishop's reply.

At length, through the urgent intervention of the three earls, the bishop is allowed to depart.

A.D. 1088.

§ 20. Anno sui episcopatus octavo expulsus est ab Anglia, sed a Roberto fratre regis, comite Normannorum, honorifice susceptus, totius Normanniæ curam

suscepit. Tertio autem anno, repacificatus regi, recepit episcopatum suum, ipso rege cum fratre suo totoque Angliæ exercitu, cum Scotiam contra Malcolmum tenderent, eum in sedem suam restituentibus, ipsa videlicet die qua inde pulsus fuerat. Tertio Idus Septembris, secundo anno suæ reversionis, ecclesiam veterem, quam Aldunus quondam episcopus construxerat, a fundamentis destruxit, et sequenti anno, hoc est millesimo nonagesimo tertio ab incarnatione Domini, aliam meliori opere incepit, id est, anno sui episcopatus tertio decimo, ex quo autem monachos congregaverat in Dunelmum undecimo; ipso namque anno ille, et qui post eum secundus erat in ecclesia, prior Turgotus, primos in fundamento lapides posuerunt, tertio Idus Augusti, feria quinta. Aderat ibi tunc et rex Scotorum Malcolmus, qui una cum eis in fundamento lapides cooperabatur. Tertio post inceptam ecclesiam anno, apud Wyndesoram, ipso Dominicæ Nativitatis die, acrius solito morbo corripitur; ubi sæpius a sanctæ memoriæ Anselmo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo visitatur, et in confessione peccatorum ejus absolutione et crebra benedictione perfruitur; ubi et a Thoma Eboracensi archiepiscopo, et Walchelino Wyntoniensi, et Johanne Bathoniensi inunctus et eucharistia confirmatus. Quarto Non. Januarii noctu decessit, XVI. anno suscepti episcopatus transacto, et duobus mensibus minus duobus diebus, hoc est anno ab incarnatione Domini MXCVI., ex quo in Dunelmum monachi congregati fuerant tertio decimo. Cujus corpus a Wyndesora perlatum Dunelmum XVII. Kalendarum Februarii sepulturæ est traditum in capitulo monachorum.

A.D. 1091. After three years, spent in Normandy, he is reconciled to the king and brought back to Durham.

A.D. 1093. He begins to build a new cathedral.

The first stones laid by himself, prior Turgot, and king Malcolm.

A.D. 1095. He is taken ill at Windsor; St. Anselm visits him.

A.D. 1096. His death and burial.

II.

Incipit historia de sancto Cuthberto, et de commemoratione locorum regionumque ejus priscæ possessionis, a primordio usque nunc temporis.[a]

§ 1. In nomine Dei summi, de sancto Cuthberto, et de commemoratione locorum, regionumque ejus priscæ possessionis, a primordio usque nunc temporis, hoc modo incipit.

Birth and manner of life of St. Cuthbert:

§ 2 In prima sua juventute, quando sanctus Cuthbertus erat vigilans super pecora domini sui, prope aquam quæ vocatur Leder, in spiritu orabat ad Dominum, sicut ei mos erat semper ab infantia sua, et semper ei fuit, quamdiu vixit cum hominibus. Erat autem etiam sibi mos semper intrare in frigidissimam aquam secreto, et suo solo consilio. Et hoc primum fuit miraculum sibi divinitus ostensum, quod cum dormientibus sociis suis super pecora vigilaret, et in mo- Vit. S. Cuth. 4.
dum crucis positus oraret, vidit animam beati Aidani Lindisfarnensis episcopi ab angelis in cœlum deferri. Et statim, mane facto, noluit amplius custodire pecora, sed domino suo reddidit, et ad monasterium quod Meilros vocatur ivit, et ad pedes sancti abbatis Boisili cum magna devotione cecidit, et ei quicquid viderat de anima beati episcopi diligenter indicavit. Et statim, tonso et coronato capite, monachus effectus est, et postea theoricam actualemque vitam usque in finem vitæ suæ bene custodivit.

he has a vision of St. Aidan being taken up to heaven.

[a] For the text of the *Hist. de S. Cuthberto* here given the only two MSS. known to exist are,—that in the Cambridge Univ. library used by Twysden, and Bodl. 596. *See* Introduction. For the first portion the Bodleian MS. is wanting; *see* § 8.

[library stamp]

§ 3. Tunc sanctus abbas Boisil statim notum fecit regi Osvingio sanctam visionem beati Cuthberti, et quod plenus esset spiritu sancto. Tunc rex et omnes meliores Angli dederunt sancto Cuthberto omnem hanc terram [a] quæ jacet juxta fluvium Bolbenda, cum his villis, Suggariple, et Hesterhoh, et Gistatadun, et Waquirtun, et Cliftun, et Scerbedle, et Colwela, et Elther-burna, et Thornburnum, et Scotadun, et Gathan, et Minethrun.[b] Et ipse sanctus abbas sub testimonio ipsius regis monasterium Meilros cum omnibus suis appendentiis, ut haberet illud proprium post diem obitus sui. Quo mortuo idem sanctus Cuthbertus post eum abbas extitit, et diu ibi vixit, verbum Dei evangelizans, et multitudinem magnam baptizans. Tandem disponens arctius vivere inde exivit, et in quandam remotam insulam nomine Pharne se contulit, et ibi per novem annos se quasi in carcere conclusit, pugnans contra humani generis hostem, ne mens sua a Deo averteretur: et ibi erat cum eo Spiritus sanctus, sicut nunc est, et semper erit. In hac eadem insula diu moratus est sanctus Aidanus episcopus tempore Pendæ regis filii Wybbindi, quibus successit rex Osvingius. Eodem tempore defunctus rex Oswegius est, et regnavit pro eo filius ejus Egfridus. Quo regnante

Hearing of the vision from St. Boisil, king Oswin grants lands to St. Cuthbert.

St. Cuthbert abbot of Melrose;

lives on Farne island nine years,

[a] *terram.* It is hardly necessary to say that this donation of lands by Oswin to St. Cuthbert is unhistorical. It is made to follow Cuthbert's vision; but that vision was subsequent to the death of Aidan, who outlived by 12 days (Bed. iii. 14) the king Oswin, to whom the grant is attributed. The story probably arose out of the pressing motive which lay upon the monks, in the turbulent days of the tenth century, and amidst the general insecurity of property, to invest the original grant of the lands which they held with a peculiar sanctity, so as to deter from attempts at spoliation.

[b] Mr. Hinde's local knowledge and unflagging industry have enabled him to identify nearly all the places mentioned in this precious and ancient record. Those mentioned in this section lie all in Roxburghshire or Northumberland, near the border. *See* the Surtees edition of Symeon, p. 138, *seq.*, and the Index of Geographical forms at the end of this volume.

Theodorus archiepiscopus Eboracensis [a] et omnis populus communi consilio, et una concordia, sanctum Cuthbertum fieri episcopum apud Hestaldesham acclamaverunt. Ille vere omnibus modis renitebatur, se peccatorem et episcopatu indignum asserens, et se in sua insula arctissime concludens, exempli beati Gregorii papæ, qui, cum peteretur episcopus a Romanis, fugit, et non nisi per vim rediit, secundum illud Evangelicum, "Omnis qui se exaltat humiliabitur, et qui se "humiliat exaltabitur." Tunc rex Ecgfridus et archiepiscopus Theodorus et omnis populus, congregata synodo, communi consilio decreverunt, ut eum vellet nollet de insula educerent, et in episcopatu subrogarent. Quod et factum est. Raptus enim a populo, juxta Eboracam civitatem ad villam quæ vocatur Alna [b] deductus. Ubi, accepto ab omnibus fidelitatis sacramento, ad Eboracam civitatem honorifice est perductus, et in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli a Theodoro archiepiscopo est ordinatus. In qua ordinatione fuerunt septem episcopi, Ceadde et Cedde, et quatuor alii sancti episcopi. Eadem die Eata episcopus Lindisfarnensis et sanctus Cuthbertus, communi consilio Egfridi regis et archiepiscopi et illorum septem episcoporum, et omnium majorum, sedes suas commutaverunt. Sicque Eata apud Hestaldesham sedit, sanctus vero Cuthbertus propter priorem conversationem Lindisfarnensem cathedram obtinuit.

[Margin: whence he is forcibly withdrawn and made bishop of Hexham.]

[Margin: Luc. XIV. 11.]

[Margin: This diocese he exchanges for that of Lindisfarne.]

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[a] Although in a certain sense Theodore had, as Mr. Hinde says, "charge of the Northern church" at this time, or rather exercised legatine authority in the North, he never could have been rightly styled "archbishop of York"; probably it is a mere slip on the part of the writer.

[b] "Alne, near Easingwold," says Mr. Hinde, adding that Symeon (Hist. Dun. i., 9) "confounds this "place with the river Aln in "Northumberland." But this is an oversight; Symeon merely follows Beda in naming Twyford on the Alne as the place at which the synod was held in which St. Cuthbert was elected; neither he nor Beda seems to know anything of the village of Alne at which he was consecrated.

§ 4. Et hic est Lindisfarnensis terræ terminus: A fluvio Tweoda usque ad Warnamuthe,[1] et inde superius usque ad illum locum ubi hæc aqua quæ vocatur Warned[2] oritur, juxta montem Hybberndune, et ab illo monte usque ad fluvium qui vocatur Bromic, et inde usque ad fluvium qui vocatur Till:[a] et tota terra quæ jacet ex utraque parte ipsius fluminis Bromic, usque ad illum locum ubi oritur. Et illa terra ultra Tweoda, ab illo loco ubi oritur fluvius Edræ ab aquilone, usque ad illum locum ubi cadit in Tweoda, et tota terra quæ jacet inter istum fluvium Edræ, et alterum fluvium qui vocatur Leder versus occidentem, et tota terra quæ jacet ab orientali parte istius aquæ quæ vocatur Leder, usque ad illum locum ubi cadit in fluvium Tweoda versus austrum: et tota terra quæ pertinet ad monasterium Sancti Balthere, quod vocatur Tinningaham, a Lombormore usque ad Escemuthe.

Boundaries of Lindisfarne.

§ 5. Et rex Ecgfridus et Theodorus archiepiscopus dederunt sancto Cuthberto in Eboraca civitate totam terram quæ jacet a muro ecclesiæ Sancti Petri usque ad magnam portam versus occidentem, et a muro ecclesiæ Sancti Petri usque ad murum civitatis versus austrum. Dederunt etiam ei villam quæ vocatur Creca, et tria milliaria in circuitu ipsius villæ, ut ibi mansionem haberet quotiens ad Eboracam civitatem iret, vel inde rediret. Et ibi sanctus Cuthbertus congregationem monachorum posuit, et abbatem ordinavit. Et quia videbatur parva terra, adjecit civitatem quæ vocatur Luel, quæ habet in circuitu quindecim milliaria, et in eadem civitate posuit congregationem sanctimonialium, et abbatissam ordinavit, et scolas constituit.

Land at York, and in Yorkshire belonging to St. Cuthbert,

[1] *Pharnamuðe*, MS.

[2] *Pharned*, MS.

[a] "Till and Bremish are the "same river; Bremish being ap"plied to the upper part of its "course, Till to the lower, where "it unites with the Glen." Hinde.

Lands in Furness.

§ 6. Postquam vero sanctus Cuthbertus suscitavit puerum a mortuis [a] in villa quæ vocatur Exanforda,[b] dedit ei rex Egfridus terram quæ vocatur Cartmel, et omnes Britanni cum eo, et villam illam quæ vocatur Suth-gedluit,[c] et quicquid ad eam pertinet. Hæc omnia sibi a sancto Cuthberto commissa bonus abbas Cineferth filius Cygincg sapienter ordinavit, sicut voluit.

Carham granted to St. Cuthbert,

§ 7. Ea tempestate pugnavit Egfrid rex contra regem Merciorum Wulfhere filium Pendici, et cæso exercitu illius ipsum vicit,[d] et in fugam, uno tantum comitante pueruło, convertit. Et hoc obtinuit per auxilium sancti Wilfrithi, qui cum eo fuit, maxime vero per orationes sancti Cuthberti, qui absens erat. Post hoc bellum dedit Egfridus rex sancto Cuthberto Carrum, et quicquid ad eam pertinet. Et habuit eum in summa veneratione quamdiu vixit, ipse et tota sua cognatio, donec eo defuncto venerunt Scaldingi [e] et Eboracam civitatem fregerunt,[f] et terram vastaverunt.

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[a] The reference seems to be either to ch. 32 or ch. 33 of the Life of Beda.

[b] This cannot be Exford in Somersetshire; some place on the Esk which runs into the Solway Frith is probably meant.

[c] One of the Yealands near Morecambe Bay is perhaps intended.

[d] *vicit.* Apparently this was the battle for the possession of Lindsey, not noticed in the Chronicles, but recorded by Beda (iv. 12), in which Wulfhere was defeated and put to flight. The date is uncertain, but it was probably 674.

[e] *Scaldingi.* The Danes. It is evidently the same word as *Scyldingas*, descendants of Scyld, by which name both the royal race, and the Danes generally, are repeatedly called in *Beowulf.* See my edition of *Beowulf*, p. 220 (Longmans, 1876). The word does not occur in the Saxon Chronicles; that it should be found here and in *Beowulf* (a poem of the eighth century) and nowhere else, seems of itself to point to a very early period for the production of this part of the *Historia de S. Cuthberto.*

[f] *fregerunt.* If, as seems to be the case, the event referred to is the disastrous struggle at York in 867, the writer did not sufficiently realise the length of time which divided that incident from the death of Ecgfrid.

§ 8. Post hoc successit in regnum Ceolvulf filius Cuthwining,[a] qui etiam se sancto Cuthberto subdidit, et dimisso regno cum uxore pro amore Dei se cum magno thesauro ad monasterium Lindisfarnense contulit, barbam deposuit, coronam accepit, et S. Cuthberto villam nomine Werceworthe cum suis appendiciis dedit.[b] Et hi sunt termini istius villæ. Ab aqua quæ vocatur Lina, usque ad Cocwuda, et inde usque ad civitatem quæ vocatur Brincewelæ, et a Cocwuda usque ad Hafodscelfe versus orientem, et ab Alna usque in dimidiam viam inter Cocwud et Alna.

and Warkworth.

Boundaries of Warkworth.

§ 9. Hoc tempore obiit sanctus Cuthbertus, et successit Egred episcopus, qui transportavit quandam ecclesiam olim factam a beato Aidano, tempore Oswaldi regis, de Lindisfarnensi insula ad Northham, ibique eam reædificavit, et illuc corpus sancti Cuthberti et Ceolfvulfi regis transtulit, ipsamque villam sancto confessori dedit cum duabus aliis villis, Gedwearde, et altera Gedwearde, et quicquid ad eas pertinet, a Duna usque ad Tefegedmuthe, et inde ad Wiltuna, et inde ultra montem versus austrum. Postea idem sanctus episcopus Ecgred ædificavit ecclesiam apud villam quæ vocatur Gegnford, et dedit eam sancto Cuthberto, et quicquid ad eam pertinet, a flumine Tesæ usque ad Weor, et a via quæ vocatur Deorestrete usque ad montem versus occidentem. Et ultra fluvium Tesæ tria milliaria versus austrum, et sex versus occidentem. Et idem episcopus ædificavit duas villas, Ileclif et Wigeclif, ultra Tese, et Billingham in Heorternesse, et dedit eas sancto Cuthberto.

Bishop Egred translates the body of St. Cuthbert to Norham.

His various benefactions.

§ 10. Post hæc Osberhtus rex abstulit sancto Cuthberto duas villas, Werceworthe et Tyllemuth. Sed post spatium unius anni eripuit Deus ab eo vitam et

Kings Osbert and Ella took away some of the property of St. Cuthbert, A.D. 867.

[a] This is strictly accurate. For Ceolwulf was the son of Cutha the son of Cuthwine; that is, he was the son of Cuthwining. See Sax. Chron., a. 729.

[b] At this word the Oxford MS. begins.

regnum. Cui successit rex Ælle, qui bene promisit sancto confessori, sed male egit; nam abstulit ab eo Billingham, et Ileclif, et Wigeclif, et Creca, et ideo ira Dei et sancti confessoris accensa est super eum. Nam Ubba dux Fresciorum cum magno Danorum exercitu in regnum ejus venit, et in sancto die Palmarum apud Eboracam civitatem applicuit. Quod cum audisset Ælle, qui tunc propter odium sancti Cuthberti in Creca morabatur, cum magna superbia surrexit, exercitum cum fratre suo Osberhto congregavit, in hostem irruit; sed mox ira Dei et sancti confessoris perterritus, cæso exercitu fugit et corruit, vitamque et regnum perdidit; sicut olim contigit Sauli regi filio Cis, qui, cum bene promisisset Deo et Samuheli prophetæ, mentitus est, et male egit; et idcirco in pugna contra Philisteos cum filio suo Jonathan, et melioribus filiorum Israel cecidit. Idcirco caveant reges et principes, ne mentiantur, et ne quid auferant sancto Cuthberto, nec consentiant auferentibus. Quia, ut ait sanctus Paulus, "Non solum peccant qui faciunt, sed qui consentiunt."

but came to utter ruin;

let their successors take warning.

Other grants of king Ceolwulf.

§ 11. Priusquam Scaldingi venirent in Anglicam terram dederunt Ceolvulfus rex et episcopus Esdred sancto Cuthberto quatuor villas, scilicet Wudacestre, et Hwitincham, et Eadwulfincham, et Ecgwulfincham, et ecclesias harum villarum consecravit idem episcopus.

Hist. Dun. Eccl. ii. 1.

The ravages of Halfdene, and his punishment.

§ 12. Occiso igitur Ælle, et fratre ejus Osberto, nullus de cognatione eorum regnavit, obtinente hoc apud Deum sancto Cuthberto, in quem multum peccaverant, quia Scaldingi omnes prope Anglos in meridiana et aquilonari parte occiderunt, ecclesias fregerunt et spoliaverunt. Igitur Halfdene rex Danorum in Tinam intravit, et usque Wyrcesforde[a] navigavit, omnia vastans, et

[a] *Wyrcesforde.* Mr. Hinde believes that a ford on the Don is meant, the little river which falls into the Tyne at Jarrow. The district was anciently called Wyr-hale.

contra sanctum Cuthbertum crudeliter peccans. Sed mox ira Dei et sancti confessoris super eum venit. Nam adeo cœpit insanire ac fætere, quod totus eum exercitus suus a se expulit, et longe in mare fugavit, nec postea comparuit.

cf. p. 63.

Appearing in a vision to abbot Edred, St. Cuthbert directs that Guthred be chosen as king in Northumbria. A.D. 883.

§ 13. Eo tempore sanctus Cuthbertus apparuit in nocte sancto abbati de Luercestre, nomine Eaddred, talia ei firmiter injungens: "Vade," inquit, "super "Tinam ad exercitum Denorum, et dic eis ut, si volunt mihi obedientes esse, ostendant tibi emptitium "quendam puerum cujusdam viduæ, nomine Guthred, "filium Hardacnut, et summo mane da tu, et totus "exercitus, pro eo pretium viduæ. Et hora tertia "super pretium; hora vera sexta duc eum ante totam "multitudinem, ut eum regem eligant. Hora vero "nona duc eum cum toto exercitu super montem qui "vocatur Oswigesdune, et ibi pone in brachio dextro "armillam auream, et sic eum omnes regem constituant. Dic etiam ei, postquam rex effectus fuerit, ut "det mihi totam terram inter Tinam et Wirram, et "quicunque ad me confugerit, vel pro homicidio, vel "pro aliqua necessitate, habeat pacem per XXXVII. "dies et noctes." Hac visione certus, et rationabili beati confessoris præcepto roboratus, ad barbarum exercitum sanctus ille abbas confidenter properavit; a quo honorifice exceptus, eo ordine quo sibi injunctum fuerat fideliter executus est. Nam et puerum illum invenit, redemit, et magno totius multitudinis favore regem constituit, terram et pacem accepit. Tunc Eardulfus episcopus detulit [a] ad illum exercitum, et ad illum montem, corpus sancti Cuthberti, super quod juravit ipse rex et totus exercitus pacem et fidelitatem, donec viverent; et hoc jusjurandum bene servaverunt.

After becoming king he is to give the saint all between the Tyne and the Wear, with right of asylum.

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[a] *detulit.* From Norham, if the statement of the translation of the body thither in § 9 be accepted.

The Danish armies overrun nearly all England.

§ 14. Igitur exercitus ille, quem Ubba dux Fresonum et Healfdena rex Denorum in Anglicam terram adduxit, in tres partes divisus est; una Eboracam civitatem reædificavit, terram in circuitu coluit, et ibi remansit. Alia vero, quæ terram Merciorum occupavit, et tertia, quæ terram Australium Saxonum invasit, per tres annos multa mala egerunt, omnesque regii generis interfecerunt, præter solum Elfredum patrem Eadwardi regis, qui his tribus annis in Glestigiensi palude latuit, in magna penuria.

A.D. 878, Alfred takes refuge in the marshes near Glastonbury.

Apparition of St. Cuthbert to king Alfred, under the guise of a pilgrim,

§ 15. Quadam igitur die, cum totam familiam suam misisset piscatum, præter uxorem et unum familiarem ministrum, peregrinus quidam affuit, ad eum intravit, cibum petiit. Quod cum ex humana condescensione ei caritative largiri præcepisset, et nihil ibi esse ad totum diurnum victum, præter unum panem et parum vini, a ministro didicisset, Deo gratias egit, et utriusque medietatem ei libenter impertiri jussit. Quod cum minister devote implesset, et de gratiarum actione illius domino suo retulisset, illuc citissime reversus, panem quidem et vinum integrum repperit; illum vero non invenit, nec quomodo per paludes illas venisset, vel redisset, maxime cum ibi navis non esset, investigare potuit. Super hoc autem non parum admirante Alfredo et cogitante, ecce hora diei nona reversa est piscatu familia, cum tribus navibus omnino plenis piscibus, asserentes plus illa die cepisse, quam tribus annis quibus morati sunt in palude. Lætus igitur, et de hoc eventu sollicitus, diem istum lætius et abundantius solito transegit. Factaque nocte cum uxore sua dormitum ivit.

and in a nightly vision,

§ 16. Illa vero somno occupata, dum Elfredus de diurno eventu sollicitus vigilaret, ecce lumen magnum sicut sol refulsit, et in ipso lumine senex sacerdos infulatus, nigris quidem capillis, habens in dextera manu Evangelii textum auro gemmisque ornatum, apparuit,

et sic eum vigilantem cum his verbis benedixit. Et ab eo diligenter inquisitus quis esset, et quomodo nominaretur, "Care," inquit, "Elfrede, lætus esto; ego sum "ille cui hodie cibum præbuisti caritative, vocor autem "Cuthbertus, Christi miles. Esto robustus, et attende "diligenter et læto animo quod tibi dixero; nam ego "deinceps ero scutum tuum, et amicus tuus, et defen-"sor filiorum tuorum. Et nunc dicam quod tibi pos-"thac sit agendum. Surge summo diluculo, sona for-"titer cornu tribus vicibus, ut inimici tui audiant et "expavescant, et circa horam nonam habebis quingen-"tos viros armatos: et hoc signo credas, quod post "septem dies habebis, Dei dono et meo auxilio, totum "hujus terræ exercitum apud montem Assandune,[a] in "auxilio tuo paratum. Sicque contra hostes tuos pug-"nabis, et sine dubio eos superabis. Post hæc esto "lætus et robustus sine timore, quia Deus tradidit in-"imicos tuos in manibus tuis, et totam istam terram, "et regnum hæreditarium tibi et filiis tuis, et filiis "filiorum tuorum. Esto fidelis mihi et populo meo, "quia tibi et filiis tuis data est tota Albion. Esto "justus, quia tu es electus rex totius Britanniæ. Sit "tibi Deus misericors, et ego tibi sic ero amicus ut "nullus adversarius adversum te possit prævalere."

in which he promises him victory.

§ 17. Et hæc omnia acta sunt secundum hoc quod
Ps. CIX. 5. Spiritus sanctus dixit per os David prophetæ, "Domi-
"nus a dextris tuis confregit in die iræ suæ reges."
Et alibi, "De fructu ventris tui ponam super sedem
Ps. CXXXI. 11. "tuam." Tunc Elfredus gratias egit Deo et sancto
Cuthberto propter misericordiam eorum et perpetuum
auxilium, secundum hoc quod dixit Deus ad David per
Ps. CIX. 4. os Samuelis prophetæ, "Juravit Dominus, et non pœ-
Ps. CXXXI. 12. "nitebit eum." Et alibi, "Filii tui, et filii filiorum

[a] *Assandune.* The writer appears to confound Ethandune, the scene of Alfred's victory in 879, with Assandune in Essex, where Canute defeated Edmund Ironside in 1016. If so, this portion of the Historia was not written earlier than the reign of Canute.

"tuorum sedebunt super sedem tuam." Sic visitavit, confortavit, docuit, juvit iste sanctus confessor Christi Cuthbertus Elfredum, sicut olim, ut in Anglica historia legitur, sanctus Petrus Eadwino regi pagano crucem auream dextra gestans apparuit, se Petrum principem esse apostolorum asseruit, coronam ostendit, et ut paganismum relinqueret præcepit, et sic eum ubique victorem futurum prædixit, sicut etiam Samuel David regi fecit. Deinceps Elfredus rex fuit fortis et lætus, quia sciebat se ubique fore victorem, quamdiu viveret, per donum Dei, et auxilium patroni sui sancti Cuthberti. Bed. II. 12.

Alfred summons his forces; his address to them;

18. Itaque facto mane surrexit, ad terram navigavit, cornu suo tribus vicibus signum dedit, quo sonitu omnes amici ejus sunt exaltati, inimici vero humiliati. Itaque secundum verbum Dei, circa nonam ipsius diei horam, congregatis ad eum quingentis de melioribus et carioribus amicis suis, publice narravit quid præcedenti nocte vidisset, et a sancto confessore audisset, et qualiter ab eo confortatus esset. Asseruit etiam illis quod per donum Dei et auxilium sancti Cuthberti, cui deinceps deberent merito obedire, hostes vincerent, et terram hæreditario jure obtinerent. Admonuit etiam eos, ut secundum doctrinam beati Cuthberti fugerent avaritiam, invidiam, longam iram, adulteria, perjuria, homicidia, et omnia mala; ut essent Deo fideles, patientes, humiles, hospitales, eleemosinarii, misericordes, modesti, et ut haberent inter se sanctam fidem, et justitiam, et veritatem. Admonuit etiam filium suum Eadwardum, qui ibi erat, quod si vellet esse fidelis Deo et sancto Cuthberto, non ei esset timendum de inimicis suis. Tunc secundum verbum viri Dei, Elfredus in hostes irruit, eosque superavit, et regnum Britanniæ accepit, sancteque et juste omnibus in commune bonus, pauperibus et divitibus, bonis et malis, amicis et inimicis, secundum Evangelicum præceptum.

A.D. 879. defeats the Danes, and becomes king of Britain

§ 19. His et aliis quamplurimis virtutibus insignitus, postquam intellexit finem vitæ sibi adesse, diu regnans, et bona confectus senectute, vocavit hunc eundem filium suum Eadwardum, et per eum transmisit sancto Cuthberto duas armillas, et aureum thuribulum, monuitque eum diligenter, ut amaret Deum et sanctum Cuthbertum, et speraret in eis, sicut ipse semper speravit, et adhuc maxime sperabat. Igitur, antequam Deus hunc fidelem sibi regem de hac vita vocaret, addita sunt quædam prædia ecclesiæ sancti confessoris. Nam Ethred supradictus abbas emit a præfato rege Guthred, et a Danorum exercitu, qui sibi sub eo terram diviserant, has villas, Seletun, Horetun, duas Geodene, Holum, Hotun, Twilingatun, et eas sancto Cuthberto contulit.[a]

Alfred dies his last injunctions to his son.

§ 20. Eodem quoque tempore bonus episcopus Eardulfus et abbas Eadred tulerunt corpus sancti Cuthberti de Lindisfarnensi[b] insula, et cum eo erraverunt in terra, portantes illud de loco in locum, per septem annos, et tandem pervenerunt ad fluvium qui vocatur Deruntmuthe, et illud ibi in navi posuerunt, ut sic per proximum mare in Hiberniam transveherent. Tunc omnis populus ejus, qui eum diu erat secutus, dolens quod eripiebatur pius eorum patronus, stans in littore flebat et ululabat, eo quod et ipsi relinquebantur captivi, et captivus eorum abducebatur dominus. Tunc Deus magnum miraculum ostendit pro amore dilecti sui confessoris; orta siquidem in mari horribili tempestate, maximæ tres undæ in navim ceciderunt, et statim, mirabile dictu, aqua illa in sanguinem est conversa. Quo viso, episcopus et abbas ad pedes

A.D. 875. The seven years wandering of the body of St. Cuthbert.

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[a] The whole passage about the vision to Alfred, from the beginning of § 15, and what follows down to this point, appears to me to be an interpolation of the age of Canute.

[b] *Lindisf.* The writer has never explained how or when the relics found their way back from Norham (§ 9) to Lindisfarne.

sancti viri ceciderunt, et timore perterriti ad littus quantocius reversi sunt, et sanctum illud corpus ad Crecam detulerunt, et ibi a bono abbate, nomine Geve, caritative excepti quatuor mensibus manserunt, et inde sanctum corpus ad Cunceceastre transtulerunt. Eo tempore obiit rex Elfredus, et Eardulfus episcopus.

A.D. 901. Reign of Eadward.

§ 21. Tunc Eadwardus, diu sapienter a patre edoctus, in regnum successit, et illud sapienter rexit; et Cutheard episcopalem cathedram apud Cunceceastre accepit. Eodem tempore Cuthardus, episcopus fidelis, emit de pecunia sancti Cuthberti villam quæ vocatur Ceddesfeld, et quicquid ad eam pertinet, præter quod tenebant tres homines, Aculf, Ethelbriht, Frithlaf. Super hoc tamen habuit episcopus sacam et socnam. Emit etiam idem episcopus de pecunia sancti Cuthberti villam quæ vocatur Bedlingtun, cum suis appendiciis, Nedertun, Grubba, Twisle, Cebbingtun, Sliceburne, Commer. Tempore ejusdem Eadwardi regis, Tilred abbas de Hefresham villam quæ vocatur Iodene australem emit. Cujus dimidiam partem dedit sancto Cuthberto, ut esset frater in ejus monasterio; alteram apud Northam, ut ibi esset abbas. Eodem tempore Berrardus presbyter dedit villam suam, nomine Twilingatun, sancto Cuthberto, ut esset frater in ejus monasterio.

Purchases of land for St. Cuthbert.

Elfred becomes a vassal of St. Cuthbert.

§ 22. His diebus Elfred filius Birihtulfinci fugiens piratas, venit ultra montes versus occidentem, et quæsivit misericordiam sancti Cuthberti, et episcopi Cutheardi, ut præstarent sibi aliquas terras. Tunc episcopus Cutheardus pro caritate Dei et amore sancti Cuthberti, præstitit illi has villas, Esingtun, Seletun, Thorep, Horedene, Iodene, duas Sceottun, Iodene australem, Holum, Hotun, Twinlingtun, Billingham, cum suis appendiciis, Scurnfatun. Has omnes villas, sicut dixi, præstitit episcopus Elfredo, ut sibi et congregationi fidelis esset, et de his plenum servitium redderet

Quod et fideliter fecit, donec Regenwaldus rex venit cum magna multitudine navium, occupavit terram Aldredi filii Eadulfi, qui erat dilectus regi Eadwardo, sicut et pater suus Eadulfus dilectus fuit regi Elfredo. Fugatus igitur Ealdredus in Scottiam ivit, Constantini regis auxilium quæsivit, illum contra Regenwaldum regem apud Corebricge in prælium adduxit. In quo prælio, nescio quo peccato agente, paganus rex vicit, Constantinum fugavit, Scottos fudit, Elfredum sancti Cuthberti fidelem, et omnes meliores Anglos interfecit, præter Ealdredum, et fratrem ejus Uhtred. A.D. 923.

Victory of the Danish king Reginald at Corbridge.

Elfred slain.

§ 23. Quibus fugatis et tota terra superata, divisit villas sancti Cuthberti, et alteram partem versus austrum dedit cuidam potenti militi suo qui vocabatur Scula, a villa quæ vocatur Iodene, usque ad Billingham. Alteram vero partem dedit cuidam qui vocabatur Onalafball, a Iodene, usque ad fluvium Weorram. Et hic filius diaboli inimicus fuit, quibuscunque modis potuit, Deo et sancto Cuthberto. Quadam itaque die, cum plenus immundo spiritu cum furore intrasset ecclesiam sancti confessoris, adstante episcopo Cutheardo, et tota congregatione, "Quid," inquit, "in me potest homo iste mortuus "Cuthbertus, cujus minæ quotidie opponuntur? Juro "per meos potentes deos, Thor et Othan, quod ab "hac hora inimicissimus ero omnibus vobis." Cumque episcopus et tota congregatio genua flecterent ante Deum et sanctum Cuthbertum, et harum minarum vindictam, sicut scriptum est, "Mihi vindictam, "et ego retribuam," ab eis expeterent, conversus ille filius diaboli cum magna superbia et indignatione voluit egredi. Sed cum alterum pedem posuisset jam extra limen, sensit quasi ferrum in altero pede sibi altius infixum. Quo dolore diabolicum ejus cor transfigente, corruit, suamque peccatricem animam diabolus in infernum trusit. Sanctus vero Cuthbertus, sicut justum erat, terram suam recepit.

Reginald divides the lands of the see between Scula and Onalafbald.

Heb. x. 30.

Miserable end of Onalafbald.

The southern lands held by Edred, who is slain by Reginald at a second battle of Corbridge.

§ 24. Tempore supradicti Eadwardi regis, dedit Wulfheardus filius Hwetreddinci sancto Cuthberto villam, quæ vocatur Bynnewalle. Eodem tempore Edred filius Rixinci [a] equitavit versus occidentem ultra montes, et interfecit Eardulfum principem, ejusque uxorem rapuit contra pacem et voluntatem populi, et ad patrocinium sancti Cuthberti confugit. Et ibi tribus annis mansit, cum pace colens terram sibi a Cuthhardo episcopo et congregatione præstitam, a Cuncaceastre usque ad Dyrwente fluvium, et inde usque ad Werram versus austrum, et inde usque ad viam quæ vocatur Deorestrete in occidentali et australi parte, et villam super Tese, quæ vocatur Geagenforda, et quicquid ad eam pertinet. Hanc terram idem Edred cum fidelitate sancti Cuthberti tenuit, et censum fideliter reddidit; donec supradictus Regenwaldus rex congregato iterum exercitu apud Corebrygce pugnavit, ipsumque Edred et maximam Anglorum multitudinem interfecit, et victor effectus, totam illam terram quam Edred tenuerat sancto Cuthberto abstulit, et dedit Esbrido filio Edred, et fratri suo Elstano comiti, qui in hoc prælio robusti bellatores fuerunt. Tandem ipse maledictus rex cum filiis et amicis suis periit, nihilque de his quæ sancto confessori abstulerat secum præter peccatum tulit.

Death of Reginald.

Eadward dies; his last injunctions to Athelstan,

§ 25. Eo tempore Eadwardus rex, plenus dierum et confectus bona senectute, filium suum Ethelstanum vocavit, eique regnum suum tradidit, et ut sanctum Cuthbertum diligeret, et supra omnes sanctos honoraret, diligenter inculcavit, notificans ei qualiter patri suo regi Elfredo in paupertate et in exilio misericorditer subvenisset, et qualiter eum contra omnes hostes viriliter juvisset, et quomodo sibimet ipsi in omnibus

[a] This Edred son of Rixinc is not, I think, mentioned elsewhere. The Eardulf whom he slew was probably the Eadulf, whose son is mentioned in Chr. A. as making submission in the name of the men of Northumbria to Edward the Elder in 924.

necessitatibus suis evidentissime promptissimus semper adjutor fuisset. Qua admonitione facta feliciter obiit.

§ 26. Igitur Ethelstanus rex magnum exercitum de australi parte eduxit, et versus aquilonarem plagam in Scottiam illum secum trahens ad oratorium sancti Cuthberti divertit, eique regia munera dedit, et inde hoc subscriptum testamentum composuit, et ad caput sancti Cuthberti posuit:— who, on his way to Scotland, comes to Chester-le-Street.

In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ego Ethelstanus rex do sancto Cuthberto hunc textum Evangeliorum,[a] II. casulas, et unam albam, et unam stolam, cum manipulo, et unum cingulum, et III. altaris cooperimenta, et unum calicem argenteum, et duas patenas, alteram auro paratam, alteram Græco opere fabrefactam, et unum thuribulum argenteum, et unam crucem auro et ebore artificiose paratam, et unum regium pilleum auro textum, et duas tabulas, auro et argento fabrefactas, et duo candelabra argentea, auro parata, et unum missalem, et duos Evangeliorum textus, auro et argento ornatos, et unam sancti Cuthberti vitam, metrice et prosaice scriptam, et septem pallia, et tres cortinas, et tria tapetia, et duas coppas argenteas cum cooperculis, et quatuor magnas campanas, et tria cornua, auro et argento fabrefacta, et duo vexilla, et unam lanceam, et duas armillas aureas, et meam villam dilectam Wiremuthe australem cum suis appendiciis, id est, Westun, Uffertun, Sylceswurthe, duas Reofhoppas, Byrdene, Seham, Setun, Daltun, Daldene, Heseldene. Hæc omnia do sub Dei et sancti Cuthberti testimonio, ut siquis inde aliquid abstulerit, damnetur in die judicii cum Juda traditore, et trudatur in ignem æternum, qui præparatus est diabolo et angelis ejus. Charter of Athelstan.

[a] "This book was in the Cottonian Library, Otho. B. ix., and "was most unfortunately destroyed "in the fire" [of 1731]. Hinde.

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Offerings to the shrine.

§ 27. Implevit etiam prædictas coppas pecunia optima, et jussu ipsius obtulit totus exercitus ejus sancto Cuthberto XII. hundred, et eo amplius. Fratrem vero suum Eadmundum de sanctitate et fideli patrocinio sancti confessoris diligenter prius edoctum fraterne commonuit, ut si quid sinistri sibi in hac expeditione eveniret, corpus suum sancto Cuthberto referret, et ei illud in die judicii Deo repræsentandum commendaret. Post hæc abiit, feliciter pugnavit, prospere rediit, sapienter multis annis postea regnavit, tandem feliciter obiit.

Death of Athelstan.

Edmund, his successor, also visits the shrine.

§ 28. Eo defuncto Eadmundus frater ejus in regnum successit, magnum rursus exercitum congregavit, et in Scottiam properavit. In eundo tamen ad oratorium sancti Cuthberti divertit, ante sepulchrum ejus genua flexit, preces fudit, se et suos Deo et sancto confessori commendavit. Exercitus sexaginta libras obtulit; ipse vero manu propria duas armillas aureas, et duo pallia Græca, supra sanctum corpus posuit; pacem vero et legem quam unquam habuit meliorem, omni terræ sancti Cuthberti dedit, datam confirmavit; et factus quasi alter Abraham, qui properans in hostes panem et vinum Melchisedech obtulit.[a] Finita oratione, multotiens se et totum exercitum beato confessori commendans, abiit.[b]

The benefactions of Styr, the son of Ulf.

§ 29. In nomine Dei summi et individuæ Trinitatis. Ante, p. 83.
Ego Styr filius Ulfi, impetravi a domino meo Ethelredo rege, ut daret sancto Cuthberto villam quæ vocatur Dearthingtun, cum saca et socna. Et ego emi propria pecunia, et dedi sancto Cuthberto, IIII. carucatas terræ in Cingcesclife, et IIII. in Cocertune, et IIII. in Halhtune, et III. in Northmannabi, et II. in

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[a] There is some confusion here; it was Melchisedech who offered bread and wine to Abraham, not Abraham who offered them to Melchisedech. If we might read for "qui properans," "cui properanti," the difficulty would disappear.

[b] At this point the Cambridge MS. which Twysden followed ends. What follows is in Bod. 596, and was first printed by Mr. Hinde.

Ceattune, cum saca et socna, et II. in Lummalea, sub testimonio Ethelredi regis et Elfrici* archiepiscopi Eboracensis, et Alduni episcopi Lindispharnensis, et Alfwoldi abbatis, qui sub episcopo erat, et illorum omnium principum qui ea die in Eboraca civitate cum rege fuerunt. Quod si quis de his aliquid sancti confessoris abstulerit, recipiat hanc maledictionem in die judicii, "Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem æter-"num."

* Wulstani? p. 83.

§ 30. Item Snaculf filius Cytel dedit hanc terram sancto Cuthberto,—Brydbyrig, Mordun, et Socceburg, et Grisebi, cum saca et socna.[a]

Grant by Snaculf.

§ 31. Hæ sunt terræ quas Aldhun episcopus et tota congregatio sancti Cuthberti præstitit his tribus, Ethred eorle, et Northman eorle, et Uhtred eorle,—Gegenford, Queorningtun, Sliddewesse, Bereford, Stretford, Lyrtingtun, Marawuda, Stantun, Stretlea, Cletlinga, Langadun, Mortun, Persebrigce, Alclit II., Copland, Weardseatle, Bynceastre, Cuthbertestun, Thiccelea, Ediscum, Wudutun, Hunewic, Neowatun, Healme. Quicumque de his aliquid abstulerit sancto Cuthberto pereat in die judicii.

Lands of the see granted by bishop Aldhun to vassals.

§ 32. Item Cnut rex dedit sancto Cuthberto tempore Eadmundi episcopi, sicut ipsemet tenuit, cum saca et socna, villam quæ vocatur Standropa cum suis appendiciis, Cnapatun, Scottun, Raby, Wacarfeld, Efenwuda, Alclit, Luteringtun, Elledun, Ingeltun, Thiccelea, et Middeltun. Quisquis aliquid de his a sancto Cuthberto averterit, avertatur Deus ab illo. Item Cnut rex dedit sancto Cuthberto tempore Eadmundi episcopi Bromtun cum saca et socna.

§ 33. Hoc est Dei et sancti Cuthberti miraculum valde animadvertendum et magnificandum,[b] quod ali-

An army of Scots swallowed up.

[a] See *Hist. Eccl. Dun.* iii. 4.

[b] Another deliverance from a Scottish invading army, invested with less wonderful circumstances, and ascribed to the intercession of the Hexham saints, is related in the *Historia Regum* as having occurred in the reign of Malcolm III., about A.D. 1070.

quando Scotti cum innumerabili multitudine Tuidam fluvium transierunt, et terram sancti Cuthberti vastaverunt, et Lindisfarnense monasterium, nunquam prius violatum, spoliaverunt. Quo audito, Guthreth rex pro vindicta sancti confessoris illuc parva admodum manu properavit, eisque jam extrema parte diei in loco qui dicitur Mundingedene occurrit. Et ideo bellum non est inceptum. Nocte vero subsecuta, cum rex Guthred, multum perterritus et anxiatus, eo quod ipse parvissimum, hostes vero, qui jam in manibus erant, maximum haberent exercitum, et sic nec pugnare nec posset fugere, præ nimia et varia cura obdormisset, ecce, miles Christi Cuthbertus ei manifeste apparuit, et nimis exanimatum his verbis animavit. "Ne timeas," inquit, "quia ego tecum sum, neque diffidas paucitati militum, quia hostes mei adhuc vivi jam coram Deo sunt mortui, nec poterunt tibi resistere, qui pacem Dei et meam non timuerunt violare. Facto mane, surge velociter, irrue in eos confidenter, quia mox in primo conflictu terra aperietur, et vivos in infernum demittet." His dictis abscessit; rex vero evigilavit. Exsiliens itaque exercitum convocavit; omnia hæc omnibus publice narravit; moxque facto mane in hostes irruit; sed, secundum viri Dei verbum, eos mox in primo conflictu vivos terra dehiscente absorptos non invenit, renovato ibi mirabiliter antiquo miraculo, quando "Aperta est terra et deglutivit Dathan, et operuit super congregationem Abyron." Ps. cvi. 17.

III.

De obsessione Dunelmi, et de probitate Ucthredi comitis, et de comitibus qui ei successerunt.[a]

§ 1. Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCCCLXIX.,[b] regnante rege Anglorum Ethelredo, Malcolmus rex Scotorum, filius Kynedi regis, congregato totius Scotiæ exercitu provinciam Northanhymbrorum cædibus et incendiis devastans, Dunelmum obsidione circumdedit. Quo tempore, Alduno episcopatum ibidem regente, Waltheof qui comes fuerat Northanhymbrorum sese in Bebbanburc incluserat. Fuerat enim nimiæ senectutis, ideoque in hostes nihil virtutis facere poterat. Cujus filio, scilicet Ucthredo, magnæ strenuitatis juveni et militiæ aptissimo, filiam suam, nomine Ecgfridam, Aldunus episcopus dederat uxorem; et has villas de terris ecclesiæ sancti Cuthberti, scilicet, Bermetun, Skirningheim, Eltun, Carltun, Heaclif, Heseldene, cum ea sub illa conditione donavit, ut ejus filiam quamdiu

A.D. 1006? The Scots lay siege to Durham.

Earl Waltheof shuts himself up in Bamborough, leaving the charge of the province to his son Uchthred,

who had married Ecgfrida, a daughter of bishop Aldhun, and

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[a] This curious tract is found nowhere but in a C.C.C. MS. at Cambridge; it stands at p. 79 in Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*. It is an authentic though fragmentary record of the wild and miserable age of Ethelred, concerning which we possess so little direct testimony. The loose notions and practice which then prevailed on the subject of marriage are very noticeable; a Turkish pacha could hardly consult his own inclinations in this matter more unscrupulously than was done by Uchtred, the English earl of Northumbria. The date of writing seems to have been about 1090; for Waltheof son of Eilsi, great-great-grandson of Uchtred (whose death falls in 1016) appears to have been alive at the time. The heading should be "De Uchtredo et "posteris ejus"; as to the "Siege "of Durham," the writer dismisses it with one line. There is absolutely no ground for ascribing the authorship to Symeon, beyond the fact that the tract occurs in the same volume which contains his *Historia Regum*. The insertion of Symeon's name in the title (see Twysden) is an unwarranted addition by some sixteenth century hand.

[b] The date is evidently corrupt; Ethelred began to reign in 978, Durham was founded in 995, and Malcolm II. succeeded his father Kenneth in 1005. *See* Skene's Celtic Scotland, I., 385.

received with her see-lands.

viveret in conjugio cum honore semper servaret. Videns juvenis præfatus terram ab hostibus devastatam, et Dunelmum obsidione circumdatam, et contra hoc patrem suum nihil agere, adunato exercitu Northymbrorum et Eboracensium non parva manu, Scottorum multitudinem pene totam interfecit, ipso rege vix per fugam cum paucis evadente. Interfectorum vero capita, elegantiora crinibus, sicut tunc temporis mos erat, perplexis, fecit Dunelmum transportari, eaque a quatuor mulieribus perlota per circuitum murorum in stipitibus præfigi; mulieribus autem quæ ea laverant mercedem dederant vaccas singulis singulas. His auditis, rex Ethelredus vocato ad se juvene præfato, vivente adhuc patre Waltheof, pro merito suæ strenuitatis et bello quod tam viriliter peregerat, dedit ei comitatum patris sui, adjungens etiam Eboracensium comitatum.

Ucthred defeats the Scots,

and is made earl by Ethelred.

§ 2. Reversus autem Ucthredus domum, filiam Alduni episcopi dimisit; et quia eam contra hoc quod promiserat et juraverat abjecit, pater puellæ, videlicet episcopus, terras supradictas ecclesiæ quas cum ea donaverat ab Ucthredo recepit. Dimissa sicut dictum est episcopi filia, Ucthredus civis divitis nomine Styr filii Ulf filiam, nomine Sigen, duxit uxorem, quam pater suus ideo ei dedit ut Turbrandum sibi inimicissimum interficeret. Postea vero illo, scilicet Ucthredo, proficiente magis et magis in re militari, rex Ethelredus filiam suam Elfgivam ei copulavit uxorem. Ex qua habuit filiam Aldgitham, quam pater in conjugium dedit Maldredo filio Crinan [a] tein, ex qua Maldredus Cospatricum,[b] patrem Dolphini et Walteofi, et Cospatrici.

Ucthred repudiates his wife, and marries Sige the daughter of Styr.

He afterwards marries Elfgiva, Ethelred's daughter.

[a] This is perhaps the Crinan, lay abbot of Dunkeld, who, marrying the daughter of Malcolm II. became the father of Duncan, who succeeded his grandfather in 1034. *See* Skene's *Celtic Scotland.*

[b] This Cospatric was earl of Northumbria, with intervals of absence, from 1067 to 1072. See *Hist. Dun.* iii. 16. His son Dolfin was expelled from Cumberland, of which he had had the

§ 3. Filiam autem Alduni episcopi, quam comes Ucthredus dimiserat, quidam tein in Evervicshire, Kilvert filius Ligulfi, accepit uxorem, de qua genuit filiam nomine Sigridam, quam accepit uxorem Arkil filius Ecgfridæ, ex qua genuit filium nomine Cospatricum. Qui Cospatricus accepit uxorem filiam Dolfini filii Torfini, de qua genuit Cospatricum, qui nuper debuerat pugnare contra Walteof filium Eilsi. Kilvert filius Ligulfi dimisit filiam Alduni episcopi, scilicet Ecgfridam, quam episcopus pater ejus jussit statim Dunelmum venire. Quæ patris sui jussis obtemperans, cum Bermetun, et Skirningheim, et Eltun, quas in propria manu habebat, rediit, et ecclesiæ et episcopo suas proprias terras secum reddit, et postea velamen accepit, quod et bene servavit usque ad extremum sui diem, et sepulta in cœmiterio Dunelmensi diem retributionis expectat.

Ecgfrida becomes the wife of Kilvert; their descendants.

Kilvert repudiates Ecgfrida; she returns to her father and becomes a nun.

§ 4. Ut autem de morte Ucthredi comitis dicatur aliquid, paululum ad superiora redeundum est. Swein rex Danorum, fugato in Normanniam rege Anglorum Ethelredo, regnum ipsius invasit. Sed post breve tempus illo mortuo, rex Ethelredus in regnum suum rediit, copulata sibi in conjugium Emma, Ricardi comitis Normannorum filia.[a] Post aliquantulum temporis Cnut filius supradicti regis Danorum Swein, cum infinita multitudine veniens in Angliam regnaturus, ad supradictum comitem misit Ucthredum, rogans, ut ad suum auxilium contra regem Ethelredum cum omnibus quos posset sibi occurreret, totum honorem suum et multo majorem sub ipso habiturus si eum adjuvaret. Erat enim idem comes magnæ potentiæ, utpote comitatum

Canute solicits the aid of Ucthred in his invasion

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government, by William Rufus in 1092. See Sax. Chron.; also note on p. 102.

[a] The writer misdescribes the sequence of events. Ethelred took refuge in Normandy in 1013, but he had married Emma eleven years before. Sweyn died in 1014. See Saxon Chronicle.

The latter refuses to turn traitor.

Eboracensium et Northanhymbrorum habens. At ille, nullo modo id facere volens, respondit, pessimi hominis esse talia contra dominum et generum[a] suum facere. "Nullius rei gratia," inquit, "hoc agere volo, quia nec "debeo; Ethelredo regi, quamdiu vixerit, fidem ser"vabo. Est enim dominus meus et socer, cujus dono "divitias et honores satis habeo. Illius traditor nun"quam ero." Itaque Cnut nullum de Ucthredo auxilium habuit.

Murder of Ucthred. A.D. 1016.

§ 5. Defuncto autem rege Ethelredo, cum totius Angliæ regnum Cnut arripuisset, ad prædictum comitem misit, præcipiens ut ad se sicut ad dominum suum veniret. Ille, accepta securitate eundi et redeundi, perrexit. Die statuto, cum intrasset ad regem de pace locuturus, per insidias cujusdam potentis, nomine Turebrant cognomento Hold, milites regis, qui post velum extensum per transversum domus absconditi fuerant, subito prosilientes loricati in Wiheal comitem cum suis XL. viris principalibus qui secum intraverant obtruncaverunt.[b] Chr. E., a. 1016.

His brother Eadulf Cudel, cedes Lothian to the Scots.

§ 6. Quo occiso, frater ipsius Eadulf, cognomento Cudel, ignavus valde et timidus ei successit in comitatum. Timens autem ne Scotti mortem suorum, quos frater ejus, ut supradictum est, occiderat, in se vindicarent, totum Lodoneium ob satisfactionem et firmam concordiam eis donavit. Hoc modo Lodoneium adjectum est regno Scottorum.

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[a] For *generum* read *socerum*.

[b] The Peterborough chronicler, followed in the main by Florence, gives a brief account of the assassination of Ucthred. It really occurred, not after Canute had "seized "the government of all England" as here stated, but before the death of Ethelred, when Ucthred, who was raiding with Edmund Ironside in the midland shires, was compelled to return to defend his earldom against Canute (who had crossed from Lincolnshire into Yorkshire), but found himself unequal to the task. Wiheal is perhaps Wighill, near Tadcaster.

§ 7. Sed Eadulfo post modicum mortuo, Aldredus quem prædictus comes Ucthredus genuerat ex Ecfrida Alduni episcopi filia, de qua supradictum est, solius Northumbriæ comitatum suscepit, patrisque sui interfectorem interfecit Turebrandum. Hujus Turebrandi filius Carl et Aldredus comes, gravibus exagitati calumpniis, dum hinc et inde utrinque insidiarentur, tandem amicorum instantia reducti in concordiam, alterna sese satisfactione mediantibus amicis placabant: atque adeo in amorem alterutrum sunt adunati, ut fratres adjurati Romam simul tenderent. Sed diutina maris tempestate impediti, cœptum iter relinquentes domum sunt reversi. Carl magnifice satis et accurate comitem suscepit in domum suam, sed post exhibita convivia, dum eum nihil mali suspicantem quasi honoris gratia deduceret, in silva quæ Risewde vocatur, interfecit, ubi usque hodie locum occisionis ejus parvula de lapide crux ostendit. Interjecto tempore nepos Aldredi comitis, comes Waltheof, erat enim filius filiæ illius, missa multa juvenum manu avi sui interfectionem gravissima clade vindicavit. Erant namque filii Carl convivantes simul in domo fratris sui majoris in Seteringetun, non longe ab Eboraco; quos inopinate qui missi fuerant præoccupantes sæva clade simul perierunt, præter Cnutonem, cui pro insita illi bonitate vitam permiserunt. Sumerlede, qui usque hodie superest, ibi non aderat. Deletis filiis et nepotibus Carli reversi sunt, multa in variis speciebus spolia reportantes.

Aldred son of Ucthred succeeds Eadulf.

He kills Thorbrand, who had killed his father.

A.D. 1038? He is himself killed by Thorbrand's son Karl,

His death avenged by his grandson Waltheof on the sons of Karl.

§ 8. Sed ut ad superiora redeat stilus. Comes Aldredus genuit quinque filias, quarum tres eodem nomine Ælfledæ vocabantur, quarta Aldgitha, quinta Etheldritha nominabatur. Ex una Elfledarum Siwardus comes genuit comitem Waltheofum. Et cum ipsa Elfleda esset comitissa, quoniam erat filia Aldredi comitis, et ipse filius Ucthredi comitis et filiæ Alduni episcopi, acclamavit ipsa jure hæreditario has supradictas

The marriages of Aldred's daughters.

terras, Bernetun, Kyrningein, Eltun, Carltun, Heaclif, Heseldene, quas comes Siwardus maritus suus ei donavit, et filio suo Waltheofo comitatum Northymbrorum dedit, sicut ipsius Waltheofi avus, scilicet comes Aldredus, habuerat. Mortuo Siwardo comite et comitissa Ælfleda filia Aldredi comitis, werra surgente, terræ illæ vastatæ sunt. Post multum tempus Arkil filius Ecgfridæ,[1] de quo supra dictum est, qui acceperat uxorem p. 217. Sigridam, filiam Kilverti et Ecgfridæ filiæ Alduni episcopi, sibi arripuit illas terras jam vastatas, et inhabitavit. Uxor vero illius Sigrida moriens, dedit Heseldene sancto Cuthberto, et Heaclif, et Carltun, quas adhuc ecclesia possidet. Arkil filius Fridegisti, et Eadulf comes, Arkil filius Ecgfrith, hi tres habuerunt Sigridam. Postea, Willelmo rege veniente in Angliam, ipse Arkillus fugiens exul factus est. Sicque iterum terra ipsa vastata remansit. His ita peractis, quidam tein in Eoverwicschire, nomine Orm, filius Gamellonis, accepit uxorem unam ex quinque filiabus Aldredi comitis Etheldritham, ex qua genuit filiam nomine Ecgfridam, ex qua Eilsi de Teise genuit Waltheof, et duos ejus fratres, et Edam sororem eorum. Et quia illa Ecgfrida erat de genere Aldredi comitis et filiæ Alduni episcopi, hæreditario jure ipsa Ecgfrida, cum marito suo Eilsi, arripuit Bermetun et Skirningeim.[a]

Arkil occupies the see-lands before mentioned,

some of which come back to St. Cuthbert;

but others are still held by descendants of Ucthred and Ecgfrida.

[1] legendum est, ut videtur, *Ecgfridi.*

[a] In a note at p. 153 of the first volume of the History of England, Lingard introduces an abstract of the contents of this tract, to illustrate the extreme barbarism of the times.

IV.

De Situ Dunelmi, et de Sanctorum Reliquiis quæ ibidem continentur, carmen compositum.[a]

Is ðeos burch breome geond Breotenrice;
steppa[b] gestaðolad; stanas ymbutan
wundrum gewæxen. Weor ymbeornað[c]
ea yðum stronge, and ðerinne wunað
feola fisca kyn on floda gemonge.
And ðær gewexen is wuda fæstern micel;[d]
winnað[e] in ðem wycum wylda deor monige
in deope dalum, deora ungerum.[f]
Is in ðere byri eac, bearnum gecyðed,
ðe arfesta eadig Cuðberch; and ðes clene cyninges heofud
Oswaldes, Engle [h]leo, and Aidan biscop,
Eadberch and Eadfrið, æðele geferes.[g]
Is ðerinne midd heom Æþelwold biscop,
and breoma bocera Beda,[h] and Bosil abbot,

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[a] This poem is now only known to exist in the Cambridge MS. used by Twysden. See Introduction.

[b] For *steape*; "firmly built on high." To those who have seen Durham the words will seem highly descriptive.

[c] "Wear [the river] runneth "round." *eornan* is a collateral form of *irnan*.

[d] "A great fastness of woods"; fæstern for fæsten. But perhaps, to preserve the rule of alliteration, we should read *wæstern*, for *wæsten*, wilderness.

[e] "Read *wunað*, dwelleth.

[f] Read *ungerim*, "wild beasts "without number."

[g] In the Cambr. MS., ⁊ *ðele geferes*, ⁊*þelwold*. It is evident that the scribe should have written, *æðele geferes* (for *geferan*) "noble "comrades," and *Æþelwold*. That the relics of Ethelwold bishop of Lindisfarne were in the church at Durham we know from the *Historia Translationum* (cap. xviii.) printed in the Surtees edition of Symeon. See also p. 39 of the present volume (I. 12).

[h] This mention in the poem of the relics of Beda is noticed by Symeon in the *Hist. Dun. Eccl.* iii. 7.

ðe clene Cuþbert on gecheðe
lerde lustun,[a] and he is lara wel genom.
Eardreþ [b] and ðem eadige inne þem minstre
unarimeda reliquia
ðe monia wundrum gewurðad, ðes ðe writ secgeþ,
mid ðene Drihnes wer domes bydeþ.

V.

Incipit Epistola Simeonis monachi ecclesiæ Sancti Cuthberti Dunelmi ad Hugonem decanum Eboracensem de archiepiscopis Eboraci.[c]

A.D. 627. Christianity brought into Northumbria by Paulinus; who was the first bishop of York.

§ 1. Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCXXVII., rex Eadwinus prædicante Paulino baptizatus est. Qui Paulinus per sex annos continuos verbum Dei in Northanhymbrorum provincia prædicabat. Anno enim DCXXXIII., occiso rege, Cantiam unde venerat rediit. Ipse Eboracensis primus præsul ab Honorio papa pallium acceperat, ordinatus a Justo archiepiscopo. Recedente Pau-

[a] "Who joyfully instructed the "holy Cuthbert in knowledge." *gecheðe* is for *ge-cyððe*, more commonly *cyððe*. For *lustun* we should read *lustum*, joyfully.

[b] Of *Eardreþ* nothing can be made; but if we read *eardiað* (3 pl. pres. of *eardian*, habitare) the passage may be explained thus: "There abide also for the blessed "one (St. Cuthbert), within his "minster, unnumbered relics [of "saints] who, honoured by many "miracles, as the writing sayeth, "with the Lord's protection await "the judgment."

[c] This heading is found in the Corpus MS. (the same volume which contains the unique copy of the *Historia Regum*), the date of which is believed to be about 1180. The Epistle is found also in a Cotton MS. (Tit. A. xix.), which, though of much later date than the Corpus volume, represents, as Mr. Hinde rightly judged, an earlier and more accurate version. These MSS. are designated as C[2] and T[2] in the notes.

The Epistle is of no great value, for almost everything which it contains may be found elsewhere. The few facts recorded about archbishop Wulfhere are certainly of some interest, and this is the original source, among existing documents, whence they are known. The Dominican Stubbs, writing on the archbishops of York in the fourteenth century, made large use of this letter. See his work in Twysden, p. 1685.

lino, Eboracensis ecclesia per triginta annos proprium non habuit episcopum, sed Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ præsules, Aidanus, Finanus, Colmannus, et Tuda, Northanhymbrorum provinciæ administraverunt pontificatum. Tertio autem anno episcopatus Colmanni, qui est tricesimus annus pontificatus Scottorum in Anglia, finito conflictu de observantia Paschali, missus est Wilfridus ab Alfrido rege in Gallias, ut ordinaretur episcopus, cum esset annorum circiter triginta. Quo adhuc transmarinis in partibus demorante, consecratus est in episcopatum Eboracensis ecclesiæ, jubente rege Oswino, Ceadda vir sanctus; et tribus annis sublimiter regens ecclesiam, dehinc ad monasterium suum in Lestingaeu secessit, accipiente Wilfrido pontificatum totius Northanhymbrorum provinciæ. Interea, mortuo rege Oswino, successit filius ejus Ecgfridus in regnum. Qui post beatam Etheldridam, quam nomine tenus conjugem primo duxerat, Ermenburgam sortitus est in matrimonium. In cujus corde malignus hostis sibi hospitium fecerat, ubi odiorum et invidiæ contra beatum Wilfridum conficiens fomenta, per linguam mulieris accendit animum regis ad expulsionem usque pontificis. Sed quia rex pontificem de sua sede præter consensum Theodori archiepiscopi pellere nequibat, mandavit archiepiscopo ut adesset. Auditis quas accusatores finxerant causis, pulsus est ab episcopatu Wilfridus, anno ab incarnatione Domini DCLXXVIII., qui est annus sui episcopatus duodecimus, et per decennium exulavit. Secundo autem anno regni Alfridi, qui post fratrem Ecgfridum regnavit, sedem et episcopatum recepit. Sed post quinque annos, denuo accusatus ab eodem rege et plurimis episcopis, præsulatu pulsus est. Tertio decimo secundæ expulsionis suæ anno Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ recepit episcopatum, beato Johanne jam pro defuncto Bosan Eboraci substituto. Quatuor post hæc annis supervixit beatus Wilfridus, habens in episcopatu XLV. annos. Post quem suscepit præsulatum

[Margin notes: Bishop Wilfrid. — A.D. 678. — St. John of Beverley.]

Haugustaldensis ecclesiæ venerabilis ejus presbyter Acca. Beatus vero Johannes, cum majore senectute minus episcopatui administrando sufficeret, ordinato in episcopatum Eboracensis ecclesiæ Wilfrido presbytero suo, ipse ad monasterium quod in silva Deirorum est secessit, ibique in pace vitam terminavit: mansit autem in episcopatu XXXIII. annis. At Wilfridus, peractis sui episcopatus XV. annis, successorem habuit Ecgbertum, virum de regio semine nobilem et industrium. Qui post Paulinum primus ab apostolica sede accepit pallium, septimo anno regni Ceolvulfi regis, centesimo tertio anno post discessum Paulini, hoc est anno Dominicæ incarnationis DCCXXXV., quo anno venerabilis doctor Beda obiit in Gyrvum.

A.D. 735. Archbishop Egbert.

§ 2. Porro archiepiscopus Ecgbertus, XXXII. anno accepti episcopatus defunctus, successorem habuit Albertum, qui septimo accepti episcopatus anno ab Adriano papa acceperat pallium, septimo anno Alcredi regis. Quo videlicet Alberto XIIII. anno sui præsulatus obeunte, Eanbaldus ordinatur pro illo, anno Dominicæ incarnationis DCCLXXX., regnante Aelfwaldo. Anno autem Dominicæ incarnationis DCCXCVI., Eanbaldus, XVII. sui archiepiscopatus anno moriens, alterum Eanbaldum, qui ejusdem ecclesiæ presbyter fuerat, successorem reliquit, regnante rege Osredo. Post Eanbaldum Wulsius rexit archiepiscopatum, Eanredo regnante; moriens autem Wulsius, Wimundum habuit successorem, præfato rege regnante. Cui XVI. episcopatus sui anno morienti, Wulfhere successit in archiepiscopatum.

Danes overrun Northumbria in the ninth century.

§ 3. His temporibus infinita barbarorum manus, Inguar scilicet, et Ubba, et Haldana, cum omni exercitu Danorum et Noragenorum,[1] navibus adducta in Angliam, ferro et igne omnia vastaverunt. Eboracum veniens oppugnabat civitatem, vastantes omnia per cir-

[1] C²; om. *Inguar—Noragenorum* T².

cuitum. Paulo ante adventum illorum Northanhymbrani expulerant regem suum, substituto in regnum Ella[1] quodam, regii seminis extraneo. Sed instante necessitate revocaverunt expulsum, et tam ille quam alius qui pro eo substitutus fuerat, coadunatis totis viribus Northanhymbrorum, apud Eboracum bella[2] contra hostes agentes, non sine magna inimicorum strage, utrique reges pœne cum suis omnibus perierunt.[3] Reliquis qui superfuerant, pagani præfecerunt sub dominio suo regem Ecgbertum, reconciliatis ab eis hostibus. Inter has strages remotius se agebat episcopus Wulferius apud Addingeham,[4] in occidentali parte Eboraci, in valle quæ vocatur Hwerverdale, super ripam fluminis Hwerf, inter Oteleiam et castellum de Scipetun.[5] Hac tempestate passus est sanctus martyr Eadmundus.

A.D. 867.

Archbishop Wulfhere flees to Wharfedale.

Hist. Reg. *sub anno.*

§ 4. Post septem annos Northanhymbrani, uno conspirantes consilio, regem suum Ecgbertum cum episcopo Wulfere de finibus suis propulerunt, et quendam Richsig in regnum restituunt.[6] Deinde post annum, Ecgberto rege defuncto, in sedem suam et ecclesiam revertitur episcopus. Qui XLVII.[a] accepti episcopatus anno vita discedens Ethelbaldum habuit successorem, anno incarnationis Dominicæ DCCCC.

A.D. 872. His expulsion and restoration.

§ 5. Ethelbaldus vero quarto postquam acceperat pontificatum anno pallium accepit regnante Eadwardo filio Elfridi regis. Defuncto autem Ethelbaldo successit Lothewardus:[b] post quem Wulstanus rexit eccle-

A.D. 900. Archbishop Ethelbald and his successors.

[1] *Anna*, T².

[2] *bello*, T².

[3] T²; om. *utrique . . . perierunt* C².

[4] *apud Hatyngham episcopus*, T².

[5] *in occ. . . . Scipetun*, C² inter lin. Desunt hæc verba in T².

[6] *substituunt*, T².

[a] The date does not agree with that given twice in the *Historia Regum*, where Wulfhere is said to have died in 892, not 900, in the thirty-ninth year of his pontificate.

[b] *Lothewardus.* Malmesbury (*Gest. Pont.* iii., § 114) calls this archbishop Rodewald. Stubbs, in the *Actus Pontif. Ebor.* (Twysden, p. 1698) calls him Lodewardus, but merely because he is here following closely the tract before us, and has no other authority.

siam, regnante Ealdredo, fratre Ethelstani regis. Obiit
A.D. 955. autem DCCCCLV. Dominicæ incarnationis anno.[1] Cui successit Oschitellus, et per sexdecim annos ecclesiam regens habuit successorem Edwaldum,[1a] regnante Eadgaro, regis Eadmundi filio. Obiit DCCCCLXX. Dominicæ incarnationis anno. Sed cum idem Edwaldus quietiorem vitam diligeret, Oswaldus suscepit ecclesiæ regi-
A.D. 971. men, anno incarnationis Dominicæ DCCCCLXXI. Sequenti autem[2] anno Romam veniens, a papa Benedicto pallium accepit. Post Oswaldum isti sibi ordine successerunt, Aldulfus, Vulstanus, Eelfricus, Kinsius, Aldredus, Thomas, Girardus, Thomas, Turstinus, Willelmus, Henricus, Rogerus.[b]

St. Oswald and his successors down to archbishop Roger.

These notes on the archbishops are addressed by the writer to Hugh, dean of York.

§ 5. Hæc, charissime pater et domine Hugo,[c] ecclesiæ S. Petri decane, ego Symeon,[3] servorum S. Cuthberti servulus, sicut in veteribus libris hinc et inde invenire potui, de successione pontificum Eboracensis ecclesiæ breviter annotavi, jussa vestræ paternitatis utinam tam efficaciter prosecutus quam libenter. Præterea, quod

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[1] deest clausula in T^2.
[2] *Athelwoldum*, T^2.
[3] *igitur*, T^2.
[4] T^2; *Simeon*, C^2.

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[a] *Edwaldum.* Called Adelwold by Stubbs, (who however can give us no new fact about him), and omitted altogether by Malmesbury (*Gest. Pont.* iii., § 115).

[b] This list of the archbishops who succeeded St. Oswald agrees with that of Malmesbury as far as the name of Thurstan (who died in 1140), where, of course, Malmesbury stops, and so does the Cotton MS. of this Epistle. The Corpus MS. adds the names of William (St. William), Henry Murdach, and Roger, who was elected in 1154, and died in 1181. See Stubbs' work above cited.

[c] *Hugo.* Mr. Hinde (Surtees ed. of Symeon, p. xxxv.) thinks there can be no doubt that the Hugh here addressed is the dean who was in office from 1130 to 1132, not his namesake who was dean from 1090 to 1109. This would be so if it were certain that the letter was written in the time of archbishop Thurstan, whose name occurs at the end of the list in T^2. But we have no means of satisfying ourselves that, as the three names following "Turstinus" are evidently a later interpolation, so "Turstinus" itself may not have been interpolated, and the list as it stood in the original letter have terminated with Gerard, or with the second Thomas. If the author was really our Symeon, the earlier date would be the more probable of the two; see Introduction.

vos scire delectat, istos virtutum viros simul contemporaneos in ecclesia fuisse legimus Northanhymbrorum; Wilfridum, qui ætatis septuaginta annos habuit, episcopatus autem XLV., Ceadda, Bosan, Eatan, Cuthbertum, Johannem, præclaræ sanctitatis pontifices. Præter hos, ejusdem temporis erat beatus Benedictus, constructor monasteriorum Petri et Pauli in Wiramuthe et in Gyrvum, idem nutritor ab infantia et abbas venerabilis Bedæ doctoris. Hilda quoque abbatissa hoc tempore claruit.

Sketch of the life of Beda. A.D. 677.

§ 7. Ut autem aliquanto latius nobis noster Beda innotescat. Natus est anno ab incarnatione Domini DC. septuagesimo septimo, anno qui est nonus annus adventus Theodori in Britanniam, uno anno ante expulsionem[1] beati Wilfridi primam, sancto Cuthberto tunc solitariam vitam agente. Natus est autem in territorio monasterii præfati, et cum esset septem annorum, traditus est a parentibus præfato abbati Benedicto, atque, ut ipse de se attestatur, omnem usque ad finem vitæ in ejusdem monasterii habitatione peregit ætatem. Videtur autem quibusdam incredibile, quod in extremo mundi angulo vir qui nunquam maria transfretaverit ob addiscendam sapientiam, scolas philosophorum non frequentaverit, tanta eruditione clareat, tanta librorum compositione ubique mundo innotescat: sed hoc non esse mirandum ipse docet, qui inter DC. beatæ vitæ et mirabilis scientiæ monachos enutritus, quicquid scientiæ singuli habuerant, omne hoc ipse in unum sui cordis vasculum, Spiritu Sancto illuminante, contraxerat. Habuerat præ oculis et copiam omnis generis librorum quos abbas suus Benedictus inter alia diversa ornamenta, donatione apostolicorum Vitaliani et Agathonis, in monasterium suum contulerat. Præterea erat et eo tempore quo magna scientiæ studia floruerant in Anglia, quando Theodorus archiepiscopus

His learning, though he never crossed the sea.

The means by which he acquired it.

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[1] T²; *post primam expulsionem*, C²; perperam; cf. Bed. v. 24.

et Adrianus abbas, peragrata insula, quaquaversum Anglorum gentes commorabantur, scolas sacrarum simul et secularium literarum instituebant, ut quicunque cuperent erudiri haberent in promptu magistros qui docerent. Unde ipse Beda, loquens de his: "Indicio "est," inquit, "quod usque hodie supersunt de eorum "discipulis qui Latinam Græcamque linguam æque ut "propriam in qua nati sunt norunt." Ab his eorum discipulis prudens institutus, adolescens in lege Domini meditabatur die ac nocte, ut etiam suos doctores ipse doctior supergrederetur. Ostendit ipse quod nec Franciam, nec Italiam, nec Græciam discendi gratia adierit, dicens ubi et a quibus quæ scripserat didicerit. Scribit enim in primo libro expositionis super Cantica Canticorum, "In hoc opere lectorem admoneo, ne me "superfluum judicet, qui de natura arborum sive her-"barum aromaticarum, quæ in hoc volumine plurimæ "continentur, juxta quod in literis antiquorum didici "latius explicare voluerim; feci namque hoc non arro-"gantiæ studendo, sed meæ meorumque imperitiæ con-"sulendo, qui longe extra orbem, hoc est, in insula "maris oceani nati sumus et nutriti; et quæ in primis "partibus orbis, Arabia dico, et India, Judea, et "Ægypto geruntur, non nisi per eorum qui interfue-"runt scripta nosse valemus." Bed. iv.

His last sickness and death.

§ 8. Anno ætatis suæ quinquagesimo nono languescens, die Ascensionis Dominicæ, cum jam exitus ejus instaret, cœpit in oratione dicere antiphonam, "O Rex "gloriæ! Domine virtutum," etc., usque ad finem. Adjunctaque laude Sanctæ Trinitatis, "Gloria Patri, et "Filio, et Spiritui Sancto," cum nominatione Spiritus Sancti, suum emisit spiritum, anno Dominicæ incarnationis DCCXXXV., qui est septimus annus Ceolvulfi regis, ad quem nuper ediderat historiam gentis Anglorum. Sepultus est eodem in loco quo gloriose conversatus, scilicet in Gyrvum: sed postea ossa illius ad corpus sancti Cuthberti sunt translata. Hist. Dun. III. 7.

VI.

[*Capitula de Miraculis et Translationibus Sancti Cuthberti.*[a]]

Cap. I.

Quomodo in peregrini habitu a ministro Elfredi panem divisum Cuthbertus accepit, qui postea integer inventus est, et quomodo idem Elfredus ipso adjuvante rex effectus est.[b]

Deus omnipotens, juste misericors, misericorditerque justus, gentem Anglorum dum pro suis multiplicibus offensis flagellare disponeret, paganorum gentium, Fresonum videlicet atque Danorum, immanitatem illi permisit dominari. Istæ igitur gentes, Ubba duce Frisonum et Halfdene rege Danorum agentibus, in Britanniam, quæ nunc Anglia dicitur, venientes, in tres turmas mox divisæ, tribus in partibus terram pervaserunt. Nam Eboracæ civitatis mænia, una ex his restauravit, regionemque in circuitu incolens ibidem pausavit. At vero reliquæ duæ, multo adhuc ferociores, regnum Merciorum terramque Australium Saxonum mox occupabant, omniaque incendiis, rapinis, atque homicidiis, qua- A.D. 866. The Danish barbarians;

[a] These seven chapters were certainly known to Symeon; see pp. 64, 70, 89; nor is it at all impossible that ch. 7, the account of the celebrated translation of 1104, came from his pen. They appear in the form here printed in Harl. 1924, a MS. of the twelfth century. A more usual form is that adopted in the Surtees edition of Symeon, p. 158, in which eleven more chapters of miracles follow ch. 6, and three similar chapters, making the total number twenty-one, follow ch. 7, the name of "Historia Translationum Sancti Cuthberti" being given to the whole compilation. Of this work the MSS. are numerous; see the Introduction to the Surtees volume, p. xxxix. *seq.*

[b] This is an amplified version of the story of the apparition of the Saint to Alfred, an earlier form of which we have had in the *Hist. de S. Cuth.*; see p. 204.

quaversum exterminantes Divina æque ut humana, contagione barbarica contaminabant. Quanti tunc ab eis nobiles et præclari sacerdotes circa ipsa, quibus Dominici corporis et sanguinis sacrosancta mysteria confecerant, altaria trucidabantur! ut propheticum illud recte tunc compleretur, quod dicit, "Effuderunt san- Ps. lxxix.
"guinem ipsorum tanquam aquam in circuitu Jerusa-
"lem," et illud, "Incenderunt igni sanctuarium tuum, Ps. lxxiv.
"in terra polluerunt tabernaculum nominis tui." Videres tunc virgines rapi, matronalia jura solvi, infantes ab ipsis matrum uberibus avulsos, ad terram alios elidi, per pedes alios suspendi, inter manus barbarorum alios discerpi; postremo neque sexui, neque ætati, nec ulli quoque gradui, a tam crudelibus parci. Nec sic tamen bestialis illa crudelitas satiari potuit, nisi omnes etiam regii generis, per quos suæ ditioni aliquod timebat periculum, extinxisset; unde illius tempestatis rabiem solus ex omni regio semine pater primi Eduuardi regis Elfredus vix effugit. Hic, ne simili plecteretur sententia, tres, quibus illa debacchari permissa est barbaries, annos, maxima cum penuria in Glestigiensibus latitabat paludibus.

their bestial cruelty.

Alfred obliged to seek refuge in the marshes near Glastonbury.

Sed Dei clementia barbarorum illam immanitatem cum jam cessare, suosque post flagella recreare solita miseratione sua judicasset, contigit eumdem Elfredum, cæteris omnibus piscatum missis, solum cum sola conjuge unoque familiari ministro domo resedisse. Aderat interim peregrino habitu quidam, obnixeque petebat elemosinæ compendium, quo famis suæ extingueret incendium; cui mox ipse vultu animoque lætissimus sine mora petenti cibum ut daret ministro præcepit. A quo cum audisset, nihil sibi suisque omnibus ad diurnum remansisse victum, præter panem unum et vini modicum, lætior ex hoc effectus; "Deo," inquit, "gratias, Qui me pauperem Suum, et tam longe a "communi hominum habitatione sejunctum per hunc "Suum quoque pauperem visitare dignatur." Et hæc

One day a pilgrim appears and asks alms; Alfred gives him half the one loaf that was left.

dicens, utriusque medietatem erogari jubet hilariter, 2 Cor. ix. 7. Apostolicum illud opere comprobans, "Hilarem datorem "diligit Deus." Quo ille, qui pauper videbatur, accepto, "Domino," inquit, "tuo pro tantæ compassionis "affectu sæpius gratificare ne differas; spero enim, "quia hanc illius beneficentiam larga cælestis miseri-"coria uberius recompensabit." Hæc dixerat ille ministro, hæcque suo minister refert domino. Sed mox ad eum ubi hunc dimiserat locum regressus, pauperem nusquam, panem vero et vinum ita repperit integrum, ut prorsus nec sectionis aliquod videretur habere signum. Quod factum ipse secum stupens, domino quoque suo festinus indicavit. Cujus miraculi novitate percepta, ipse pariter et uxor ejus non minore mentis percelluntur stupore. Et quamvis curiose perquirentes, viam, qua ille venisset vel inde recessisset, omnino non poterant investigare, præsertim quod locus ille aquis palustribus undique inclusus, non nisi cum navi valebat adiri. Interea, ubi nona diei hora venerat, hi, qui piscatum exierant, tres naves piscibus onustas domum reduxerunt, asserentes tantam sibi copiam piscandi non provenisse in totis tribus annis, quibus illis deguerant in paludibus. Tantis itaque Dei beneficiis jocundati, diem illum solito lætiorem deducunt.

Miracle.

The boats come home loaded with fish.

Venit nox; quisque, post diurnos labores quieturus, suo se reponit in loco. Cumque alto sopore omnes opprimerentur, Elfredus in lecto recubat solus pervigil, labores suos quos barbaricæ persecutionis timore profugus sustinuit mæsto secum corde retractans, simulque de peregrino, ac inopinata piscium multitudine quod hac die sibi evenerat admirans. Et, ecce! lumen, super omnem solis radium splendidius subito refulgens totum in quo jacuit cubiculum cælitus illustrat. Hac visione utpote insolita et tam subita ipse perterritus, priores mox omnes obliviscitur curas, et solum luminis illius fulgorem stupidus contuetur. Tunc quidam in ipso lumine, pontificaliter infulatus, senior, nigro quidem

At night St. Cuthbert appears to Alfred in a vision.

capillo, sed vultu admodum venusto, processit, textumque Evangeliorum auro gemmisque mirifice perornatum dextera prætendens, stupentem illum atque paventem sic dictis promulcet amicis, "Non te, dilecte mi "Elfrede, subitus hic mei adventus splendor perturbet; non te barbarici furoris timor diutius sollicitet; "Deus enim, Qui pauperum suorum gemitus non spernit, jamjam tuis finem ponet laboribus. Ego tibi "deinceps quoque adjutor ero promptissimus." His protinus ille confortatus affatibus, quis esset, quid appellaretur, aut quare venisset, sibi ut panderet rogat obnixius. Tunc senior subridens, "Ille," inquit, "ego "sum, cui tantæ humanitatis condescensu cibum hodie "dari jusseras; sed non tantum pro pane et vino, "quæ mihi data delectabar, quantum pro interna "mentis tuæ devotione congratulabar. Quod autem "quid appellar interrogas, servum Dei Cuthbertum me "pro certo nominari scias, ideoque huc modo veni ut "per me familiarius instruaris qualiter a persecutionibus diu te affligentibus expediaris. Ergo misericor- Ante, p. 62.
"diam et justitiam præcipue diligas moneo, eademque "filios tuos servare præ omnibus semper doceto; quoniam, me impetrante Deoque donante, totius Britanniæ imperium vobis concedetur disponendum. Si "autem Deo mihique fideles exstiteritis, me posthac "ad conterendum robur omne inimicorum inexpugnabile defensionis scutum habebitis. Quare nunc omnem tristitiæ postpone torporem, atque cum crastina "primum aurora rutilaverit, ad proximum naviga littus, cornuque tuo tribus fortiter intona vicibus. "Sicut enim cera diffluit ab ignis calore, sic tuorum "superbia inimicorum dissolvetur ab hujus tubæ clangore. Sed quantum in majus adversariorum dejicietur pertinacia, tantum ad ejusdem clangoris auditionem tuorum erigetur amicorum audacia. Quod enim "piis misericordiæ cælestis ad exaltationis confert "gloriam, hoc impiis jure permittit provenire ad de-

and promises him victory over his enemies.

" jectionis ingloriam. Hujus quoque diei horam circi-
" ter nonam, de carioribus amicis et melioribus, quin-
" genti ad te convenient, omnes bene armati. Et hoc
" signo credas, quod, septem transactis diebus, apud
" montem Assandune totius terræ hujus concurret ex-
" ercitus, te velut regem suum in adversis simul et
" prosperis ubique sequi paratissimus; ubi cum hosti-
" bus dum conflixeris, triumphi palma proculdubio
" coronaberis."

Alfred, after recommending himself to the Saint's patronage, engages and defeats the Danes.

Hæc Sanctus ubi disseruit, mirantis ab oculis ipso cum lumine disparuit. Ille autem omnium, quæ audierat, complendorum certissimus, illius se patrocinio commendabat attentius. Interea magnis expectata desideriis aurora exoritur. Ille, solito agilior, somno lectoque excutitur; et, ad littus usque perveniens, jussa quæ nocte audierat nil moratus exequitur. Et his quid diu immoramur? Tubæ ipsius clangorem inimici pariter et amici audiunt; illi nutu Divino pavore confusi, subito viribus enervantur; isti, cælitus exultatione perfusi, continuo virtutibus roborantur. Jam quoque die in nonam declinante horam, ipsi de quibus complendæ promissionis signum planius caperet, amicorum cariores et meliores quingenti, omnes armis bene muniti, ad ipsum conveniunt. Quibus ille, nocturnæ visionis ordinem pandens, "Nunc," inquit, "quanta parentes nostri,
" qui omnes jam interierunt, barbarorum tormenta pro
" suis nostrisque offensis justo Dei judicio pertulerint
" vidimus; et nos ipsi, qui die noctuque ad similia
" per eosdem exquirimur, quomodo nullum habeamus
" jam tutum fugæ locum, videmus, immo miserabiliter
" profugi sustinemus. Unde rogo monitis sancti Cuth-
" berti, defensoris nostri, attente obediamus, Deo sibi-
" que fideles existamus, vitiorum voragines fugiamus,
" atque virtutum exercitia diligamus, sic profecto, et
" promissum cælestis gratiæ auxilium, et suæ defen-
" sionis experiemur ubique patrocinium." Promissus igitur totius terræ exercitus cum rege suo eodem El-

fredo ad prædictum montem prædicta die convenit; nec minus ex adverso feralis illa barbarorum turba, infinitæ suæ multitudini prioribusque confisa eventibus, accurrit velocius. Fit statim ad præliandum conventus, sed dispar pugnantium eventus. Hinc enim Christianus quam salubre sit in cælesti fidere auxilio comprobat interficiendo; illinc paganus quam detestabile sit humana præsumere superbia experitur cadendo. Hoc itaque prælio absque detrimento sui exercitus confecto, Elfredus totius Britanniæ imperium obtinuit; et quoniam sancti confessoris præcepta, quæ susceperat in penuria, memoriter servabat in curia, omnibus semper et ubique adversantium prævaluit moliminibus.

In prosperity he faithfully obeys the instructions of St. Cuthbert, as he had done in adversity.

Cap. II.

Quomodo, tempestate orta, tres undæ in navim in qua corpus ejus abducebatur cadentes in sanguinem convertebantur.

A.D. 875. Bishop Eardulf resolves to remove the body of St. Cuthbert out of the reach of the barbarians.

Per ejusdem quoque persecutionis tempora, intolerabilis tribulatio Northanhymbrorum finibus subito emergens, ecclesias Dei tempestuoso turbine graviter concussit. Tunc quidem magni vir meriti, nomine Eardulfus, Ante p. 56. episcopatum Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ, qua tunc beatissimus Dei confessor Cuthbertus corpore quiescebat, probabiliter coram Deo et coram hominibus disponebat. Hic dictorum prædicti patris, quæ ultima ipse ab hac vita migraturus suis contradiderat, recordans, loco magis cedere quam reprobis subdi elegit. Sic enim ipse, inter alia quæ de conservanda pacis ac dilectionis concordia satis tunc utiliter admonuit, paterno more suis consuluit, dicens, "Si vos unum e duobus Vit. S. Cuth. 39.
"adversis eligere necessitas coegerit, multo plus diligo
"ut eruentes de tumulo tollentesque vobiscum mea
"ossa recedatis ab his locis, et, ubicumque Deus pro-

"viderit, incolæ maneatis, quam ut ulla ratione con-"sentientes iniquitati, schismaticorum jugo colla sub-"datis."

Erat quoque tunc abbas quidam, Eadradus nomine, et ipse apud Deum miræ sanctitatis, nec exiguæ apud homines nobilitatis, qui ejusdem cum episcopo erga beatissimum Dei confessorem semper extitit devotionis. Igitur, hac tribulationis aura intonante, ecclesiamque Dei fortiter quassante, memorati duo, sumptis secum religiosæ conversationis quibusdam aliis, incorruptum venerandi patris corpus de Lindisfarnensi monasterio discedentes asportaverunt. Hoc populus ipsius postquam audivit, domibus cum tota supellectili relictis, cum uxoribus et parvulis continuo subsequitur. Est enim huic, (qui suus proprie dicitur populus, quoniam speciali quadam provisione ab eo servatur, nec alibi nisi sub eo vivere valet, sicut aliæ gentes, quæ in extraneis æque ut in propriis degere sciunt terris,) tanta in eo tuitionis securitas, ut nullas adversitatum pœne pertimescat injurias. Hoc tamen quod tanta eos pietate ad se confugientes ab adversariis sæpe vindicaverit, de quo in sequentibus quædam dicemus, ipsorum meritis, cum præter paucos pravorum actuum homines sint, nullus applicet; sed in hoc quantum fidendi firmitas valeat, magnopere quisque consideret. Tunc namque per Dei providentiam et sanctissimi confessoris voluntatem contigit, quatinus cum pretiosissimo sacri corporis sui thesauro longo tempore migrantes, totam pœne pervagarentur terram.

The body is borne from Lindisfarne; the household of St. Cuthbert follow.

Ante p. 63. Episcopus autem et abbas, propter diuturnum laborem nimis tandem confecti tædio, ut suis finem laboribus et sancto corpori sedem in Hibernia quærerent, mutuo inter se diu consilio ventilabant; præsertim quia nullam in tota hac terra remanendi spem habebant. Proinde adhibitis ad hoc quoque de omnibus qui sapientiores erant et ætate provectiores, sui secreta consilii eis pandebant. Placuit itaque illis hoc con-

The exiles come to the mouth of the Derwent, intending to cross to Ireland.

silium, et "Evidenter," inquiunt, "in terra peregrina "requiescendi locum quærere monemur, quia nisi hoc "Dei fuisset voluntas ipsiusque Sancti, proculdubio "jampridem et suæ sanctitati locus ad requiescendum "condignus, et nobis ad manendum opportunus fuisset "provisus." Hæc illi; sed incomprehensibilis Dei sapientia et ineffabilis misericordia, jam quidem labores eorum determinare, Suique confessoris lætius merita declarare voluit, sed altiori et Sui solius consilio hæc facere disposuit. Ergo ad ostium fluminis, qui Dirwenta vulgo dicitur, omnes simul, episcopus, abbas, et populus conveniunt. Ab hoc enim maris portu facilior ac brevior patet transitus in Hiberniam tendentibus. Ibi navis ad transponendum paratur, venerabile patris corpus imponitur, cum episcopo et abbate pauci, quibus hoc innotuerat consilium, ingrediuntur, cæteris omnibus quid agere vellent ignorantibus. Sed quid moramur? Sociis a littore se spectantibus valedicunt, secundis vela flatibus expediunt, recto versus Hiberniam ductu proram dirigunt. Tunc quis, putas, mæror fuerit residentium? quis planctus mærentium? quis luctus dolentium? In terram corruunt, pulvere capita respergunt, vestes scindunt, pectora lapidibus pugnisque contundunt, et in hujusmodi voces tandem simul omnes erumpunt. "Heu miseri, nos in tempora hæc "infelicia cur nati sumus? Tu, pater et patrone noster, en tanquam captivus in exilium duceris; nos, "tanquam oves luporum dentibus, ita miseri et captivi adversariis exponimur sævientibus." Nec illi plura. Continuo venti mutantur, fluctus intumescentes elevantur, et quod nunc erat tranquillum atque serenissimum mare fit tempestuosum et obscurissimum; navisque, jam non valens gubernari, huc et illuc inter fluctivagas jactabatur undas; qui enim intus erant velut mortui obriguerant. Interea tres miræ magnitudinis undæ horrifico cum murmure supervenientes, navim medias pœne usque ad tabulas impleverunt, at-

The bishop embarks, but is driven back by a storm.

Miracle of the waves turned into blood.

que terribili miraculo, postque Ægypti plagas inaudito, protinus in sanguinem convertebantur.[a] O Conditoris nostri stupenda majestas! O nimium amplectenda pietas, quæ suorum corpora sanctorum quantum a nobis sint formidanda atque veneranda tam horrificis tamque mirificis declarat signorum ostentis! Ergo postquam, sensu aliquantulum recepto, semetipsos qui vel ubi essent recordantur, tantique miraculi magnitudinem, ipsi quoque per totum sanguine perfusi, contemplantur, continuo gemunt, lugent, genua flectunt, veniamque stulti ausus toto corpore ad pedes sancti corporis prostrati petunt. Arrepto itaque gubernaculo navim ad litus et ad socios retorquent, et continuo, flantibus a tergo ventis, illuc sine aliqua difficultate perveniunt. Tunc qui prius fleverant dolendo versa vice plus jam flebant gaudendo. Episcopus vero cum sociis suis, pudore simul et dolore non minus lacrimans toto corpore in terram prosternitur, sibique indulgeri precatur obnoxius.

Ante, p. 64.

Ante p. 68.

The body remains for a time at Craik.

His ita gestis, omnibusque laudabiliter concordatis, ad monasterium quod in villa vocabulo Creca fuit illud venerabile corpus deferunt, ibique ab abbate, cui nomen erat Geve, benignissime suscepti, velut in proprio quatuor mensibus residebant. Interim, divina dispensante gratia, quæ suos ad hoc permittit laborare, ne in bonorum operum exercitatione torpeant, ad hoc iterum novit recreare, ne in caritatis delectatione frigeant, sedes episcopalis, quam superius in insula Lindisfarnensi esse diximus, in Cunceceastre restauratur. Translato igitur illic de Creca beatissimi patris corpore, tamdiu ibi permansit, quousque, non paucis revolutis annis, in Dunhelmo una cum sede pontificali decentissime transponebatur, ubi usque in præsens ejus sanctitas miraculis continuis declaratur.

The see is established at Chester le Street, and the body translated thither from Craik.

[a] Here follows, in the *Hist. Dun. Eccl.* (ii. 11), the singular story of the loss of the precious text of the Gospels.

Cap. III.

Quomodo paganus quidam, vocabulo Onalafbald, contra Dei confessorem injurias dixisset, in ingressu ecclesiæ confixus interierit. Ante p. 73. et p. 209.

A.D. 900.

Death of Eardulf. A.D. 915, Cutheard his successor. Reginwald, a barbarian king, gives away the lands of St. Cuthbert to Scula and Onalafbald.

Ordinatis deinde omnibus, atque decenter, utpote ad sedem episcopalem, compositis, regulari quoque sub disciplina qui Deo coram sanctissimi confessoris Sui corpore jugiter servirent ibidem constitutis, episcopus ille supra memoratus Eardulfus senectute bona laborum præmia suorum recepturus ab hac vita migravit. Nec multo post ipsius excessum exacto tempore, Cuthardus et ipse, coram Deo et hominibus vita probabili commendatus, omnium electione cathedram episcopalem ejus loco regendam suscepit. Quam quidem, quamvis laboriose (nam multas sæpe ac graves barbarorum sustinuit pervasiones et injurias) sancto tamen Cuthberto se specialiter vindicante atque evidenter adjuvante, doctrinis et exemplis strenue decoravit. Ipsius namque temporibus rex quidam paganus, nomine Reginwaldus, multa cum classe illis in partibus improvise applicuit, universosque meliores vel in bello stravit, vel extra patriam fugavit. Occupavit quoque totam mox terram sancti Cuthberti, villasque ipsius duobus suis militibus ad sæculum potentibus æqua divisione distribuit, quorum unus Scula vulgariter vocabatur, alter vero, secundum suæ gentis proprietatem, Onalafbald appellabatur. Ambo crudeles et barbari, ambo dæmoniorum cultibus mancipati, ambo veræ religionis et propriæ salutis ignari, temporalis potentiæ nomen affectabant, atque ad interminabilis miseriæ lamenta æternique cruciatus tormenta cæco corde festinabant. Talibus enim sacra comminatur Scriptura dicens, "Potentes Sap. vi. 7.
"potenter tormenta patiuntur."

Of whom Onalafbald is much the worst.

Hi quamvis, ut diximus, ambo fuissent barbari et crudeles, ille tamen, quem posteriorem nominavimus,

immaniorem multo atque crudeliorem, ac prorsus inhumanum, ad suam perniciem se omnibus exhibebat. Non sacrorum ordinum dignitas, non natalium nobilitas ferinum ejus animum ad cujusquam inclinabat reverentiam, sed, tanquam indomabilis bellua, quo quemquam gradu digniorem vel genere considerat nobiliorem, eo contra hunc furorem exacuabat immaniorem. Hic dum multis sæpe injuriis episcopum, congregationem, atque populum sancti Cuthberti molestaret, prædiaque ad episcopum jure attinentia suæ potestati pertinaciter usurparet, episcopus eum Deo volens lucrari, sedulo corripiebat, atque de suæ profectu animæ commonebat, dicens, "Tantum quæso pertinacis animi deponas rigorem, atque abdicato dæmonum cultu tuum recognoscas Creatorem; necnon et ab illicita rerum pervasione ecclesiasticarum jam te cohibere non renuas. Nam si monita mea hæc spernenda esse putaveris, sanctissimum Dei confessorem suas suorumque injurias, per te totiens irrogatas, cito ac graviter vindicaturum esse non dubites." At ille, quamvis hominibus apparet vivus, occulto tamen Dei judicio jam mortuus, de correptionis verbo quantum poterat meliorari, tantum inde cœperat deteriorari. Dum enim hæc et hujusmodi ab episcopo frequentius audisset, improbæ mentis furia instigatus, ecclesiam die quadam ingreditur, et, episcopo cum tota congregatione coram stante atque audiente, contumeliose proclamans in hæc verba extollitur, "Quid hujus hominis mortui minas mihi quotidie objicitis? Quid putatis contra me vobis valebit ipsius in quo speratis auxilium? Deorum meorum omnipotentiam contestor, ipsorumque per excellentem gloriam juro, quod tam ipsi mortuo quam vobis omnibus deinceps inimicissimus ero, ut ex hoc aperte discatis, quam nihil aut ipse aut vos mihi resistere valeatis." Et, his dictis, cum maximæ indignationis arrogantia pedem ut egrederetur avertit. At episcopus omnesque simul fratres in terram mox

The bishop warns him in vain to abjure his false gods;

his contumelious speech about the Saint's power.

prostrati, a Deo et sancto confessore superbas illius minas annullari multum suspirando et ubertim lacrimando flagitabant. Jam miser ille ad ostium venerat, jam alterum intra limen, alterum extra, pedem posuerat, et ibi tanquam clavis per utrumque pedem confixus nec egredi nec regredi valebat, sed immobilis prorsus ibi hærebat. Cœpit quoque mox pallescere et contremiscere, oculisque sanguineis et torvis circumspicere, atque diversis membrorum motibus dolorem quem intus perpetiebatur foras ostendere. Ubi autem, concurrente atque spectante populo innumerabili tam suorum quam Christianorum, ita diutius torquebatur, tandem horribiliter exclamans, beatissimi confessoris sanctitatem palam confitebatur, sicque impiam suam animam eodem in loco reddere compellebatur. Sed hæc sera ipsius confessio, quamvis sibimet omnino nil prodesset, aliis tamen, ipsis etiam paganis, plurimum profuit; qui, hoc exemplo conterriti, neque terras neque aliud quid quod ecclesiæ jure competebat, quoquomodo ulterius pervadere præsumebant.

He is struck down in a fit; he confesses St. Cuthbert's sanctity, and dies.

Cap. IV.

Quomodo Scotici, qui terram sancti Cuthberti et Lindisfarnense monasterium pervaserant, subito terræ hiatu absorpti sunt.[a] Ante, p. 70.

Scriptum est, "Ibunt sancti de virtute in virtutem; "videbitur Deus deorum in Syon." Quod quia hic Ps. lxxxiii. Deo dilectus confessor in hac carnis infirmitate processu mentis sedulus agebat, ab illa superna qua Deus deorum videtur specula miraculis nunc coruscando de-

[a] This wonderful deliverance from the Scots is briefly told by Symeon at the end of the thirteenth chapter of his second book, with a reference to a more detailed narrative, which we undoubtedly have in the present chapter.

clarat. Nam quantum de virtute in virtutem eundo mente tunc proficiebat, tantum ascensu miraculorum procedendo mirandis primoribus plus miranda nunc exhibet posteriora. Mirandum namque et timendum est de barbari peremptione quod diximus, sed multo plus mirandum atque stupendum de repentina Scottorum dimersione quod dicemus. Temporibus itaque non multis postea transactis, gens Scottorum, coadunato innumerabili exercitu, fluvium Tuyda, qui terminus aquilonalis est terræ sancti Cuthberti, transgreditur, omniaque homicidiis, incendiis, atque rapinis depopulatur. Non gradui, non ætati, non sexui parcebat, sed velut pecudes pari cunctos et inaudita crudelitate prosternebat. Et, hæc agens, nondum suam exsatiavit crudelitatem, quin immo Lindisfarnense monasterium, nullorum præsumptione antea temeratum,[a] simili crudelitate pervasit. Hæc tanti facinoris fama, postquam ad illius qui tunc rex extitit Guthredi aures pervenit, contra illos cum admodum parva manu festinavit; non enim congregari exercitum brevitas temporis permittebat. Occurrit utique illis in loco qui Anglorum lingua Mundingedene usque ad præsens nuncupatur. Sed quoniam incumbentis tenebræ noctis obstabant, venerat enim illuc vesperascente jam die, bello eos aggredi continuo non potuit, verum ut summo mane imparatos occuparet disposuit. Sed nec consilium ejus ipsos latuit, ideoque semper parati existentes, ipsum, si etiam ab eis declinare temptasset, quia paucos eum habere se autem plurimos esse considerabant, insequi cogitabant. Cum vero rex tantum conspexisset exercitum, et non solum resistere, sed etiam insequi paratum attendisset, nimio timore sollicitabatur, eo quod nec ad pugnandum vires habebat, et ab eis fugere pudor et locus prohibebat. Talibus ergo tantisque curarum æs-

Circa A.D. 885.

A Scottish army crossing the Tweed lays waste the English border.

The king, Guthred, advances to meet them.

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[a] This is of course inexact; for Lindisfarne had been sacked by the Danes in 793, and again in 875; see Reginald's *Libellus*, cap. 13.

tibus variarum molestatus, præ nimietate angustiarum somno prægravatur. Et ecce! egregius Christi miles Cuthbertus manifesta visione illi adstitit, verbisque consolatoriis exanimatum confortavit, ita exorsus: "Quid "tanto maceraris timore? Ne diffidas tuorum paucitati militum cum Dei meumque habeas auxilium; "Deo enim nequaquam est impossibile sive in multis "sive in paucis salvare. Hostes quippe tuos, magis "autem meos, quia pacem meam, nec a paganis prius "violatam, temerare non formidabant, in sua nunc "multitudine gloriantes coram te in brevi ut lutum "platearum delebo. Nam quamvis hominibus adhuc "vivi appareant, in conspectu Dei omnes mortui sunt "computati. Unde tuis ut sine mora sint parati præcipere matures, ut, cum aurora diei primum exoritur, facto impetu super eos irruas, quoniam in primo "congressu, terra dehiscente, in baratrum vivi corruent, "et sine tuorum detrimento ipsi omnes simul disperient." Talia ubi dixerat, visionis illius species disparebat. Rex vero, per hæc multum confortatus, somnum excussit, lecto exiluit, suos convocavit, et quæ viderit vel audierit palam omnibus enarravit. Quibus auditis, quantum prius timore fuerant exanimati, tantum mox regis sui consolatione sunt confortati. Facto igitur mane in hostes irruunt, sed, mirabile dictu, quos modo contra se jacula mittere conspiciunt, in eodem statim momento nusquam nec unum ex his inveniunt. Quod enim vir Dei prædixerat, coram eis terra vivos omnes absorbuerat. Et hic quoque antiquum renovatur miraculum, quando "Aperta est terra et deglutivit Ps. cv.
"Dathan, et operuit super congregationem Abiron."

St. Cuthbert appears to him in a vision.

When the armies meet, the Scots are on a sudden swallowed up.

CAP. V.

Ante, p. 95. *Quomodo miles comitis Tostii, nomine Barcwith, dum januas monasterii ejus infringere cupit, subito percussus interierit.*

Nec silentio prætereundum quanta nostris quoque temporibus ejusdem beatissimi patris fulserint miracula. Regnante nuper piissimo rege Eadwardo miraculum contigit prioribus simile, per quod in unius præsumptoris peremptione multi deinceps correcti sunt a tali præsumptione. Dum igitur Tostius, comes ille cunctis notissimus, in partibus Northanhumbranis comitatum administraret, quidam pravæ actionis vir, nomine Aldan-hamal, ab eo comprehensus, compedibus arctissime constringitur. Multa enim mala fecerat; furtis atque rapinis, homicidiis atque incendiis comitem sæpe offenderat, nec unquam prius comprehendi poterat. Cujus parentes et amici, compassionis affectu permoti, multa pro eo ne capite plecteretur comiti offerebant, et plura promittebant. At ille, quia totiens tantisque malefactis eum irritaverat, nullum se pro vita ipsius auri vel argenti, aut cujusquam alterius rei commodum vel respicere velle juravit. Tunc ille animo consternatus, solum sibi cogitabat esse remedium si, quoquomodo vinculis expeditus, beatissimi patris Cuthberti confugisset ad monasterium. In eadem quippe villa qua ipse corpore requiescit, hoc est in Dunelmo, tunc custodiebatur. Adhibitis ergo omnibus ingenii ac virium suarum conatibus, ab his quibus constringebatur compedibus se quærebat expedire. Sed quamvis diu multumque in hoc laboraret, parum profecit, quoniam timor, qui ex præcepto comitis imminebat, ut arctissime custodiretur custodes urgebat. Unde suis se conatibus liberari non posse considerans, scelerum suorum conscientia se torquente, graviter ingemuit, atque Deo

A.D. 1042–1066.

Earl Tosti, having arrested a robber named Aldan-hamal,

keeps him in close prison at Durham.

Invoking the Saint's aid Aldan-hamal is released from his fetters

dilectum confessorem, quo sibi subveniret indigno, magna cordis contritione rogavit. Non enim jam quod a comite sibi minabatur, tam corporis supplicium quam animæ formidabat periculum. Interea dum malorum suorum emendationem, si modo evaderet, promittit, subito compedes solutos sibique liberum abeundi locum patuisse conspicit. O magna Dei clementia! Ecce! quod prius insonuit per prophetarum oracula, nobis nunc per ipsa loquitur opera. Peccator qua die con- Ezech. versus fuerit et ingemuerit, omnia peccata ejus non xviii. 22. recordabuntur. Lætus itaque quod se solutum senserat, sed sollicitus quomodo custodum vigilantiam evaderet, omnem salutis suæ confidentiam beati patris Cuthberti commisit patrocinio. Nec mora. Custodibus ad alia occupatis, et nil tale suspicantibus, fugæ locum sibi permissum esse prospexit, compedes quantocitius excussit, atque cursu rapidissimo monasterium intravit, oppositisque seris, januas omnes ipse solus ab intro firmavit.

and takes sanctuary in the monastery.

Hearing this Barcwith, one of Tosti's men, is angry, and wishes to break in the gates.

Casu quidem evenerat, cum post Primam egressis fratribus illo veniret, ut nullum intus inveniret. Quod inter milites comitis, nam et ipse in eadem villa tunc erat, ubi auditum est, continuo quidam, Barwith nomine, qui omnes in curia potestate præcessit, usque ad monasterii januas illum insequebatur. Quas cum obseratas illumque intus esse advertit, nimio mox furore accensus, "Quid," inquit, "moramur? Quare januas "non infringimus? Neque enim hujus hominis mor- "tui pax a Deo est tenenda, ut fures, raptores, et "homicidæ, huc si confugerint, nobis insultent quod "impuniti evaserint." Sic miser ille ore loquebatur contumelioso; furoris enim magnitudo effecerat, ut quid loqueretur ipse ignoraret. Sed vix verba compleverat, ecce! subito quasi sagitta desuper veniens, caputque sibi transverberans, ad cor usque suum pertingeret, sibi visum esse protestabatur. Nec plura locutus, in terram corruens volutabatur; sicque gemendo, ululando, den-

He is instantly struck down,

tibusque stridendo quam graviter cruciaretur, tam audientibus quam intuentibus patefecit. Denique a suis ad hospitium deportatur, nec unum postea verbum proloquens, in eisdem tormentis ad diei tertii eandem usque horam supervixit. Sed et illo tandem ita defuncto atque sepulto, talis tantusque de tumulo ipsius fætor per dimidium spatium anni exhalavit, ut viæ transitum per id loci omnes fugerent. Hoc ergo exemplo comes ipse cum cæteris omnibus, quibus hæc longe lateque tunc innotuerant, perterritus, non hunc ulterius capere præsumebat, sed postea non parum honorare incipiebat. Tum quoque omnes, qui ut a monasterio abstraherentur se vel saltem consensisse meminerunt, similem sibi metuentes ultionem, collata de rebus suis auri et argenti gemmarumque non modica quantitate, super beatissimi confessoris sepulcrum offerebant, multis cum lacrimis veniam implorantes, et nil tale ulterius se præsumpturos jurantes. Mox itaque ex hac ipsorum oblatione mirifici operis crux, et incomparandi pretii textus Evangeliorum, auro gemmisque perornantur, quæ in eodem monasterio ad hujus facti monumentum usque in præsens servantur. Hæc quoque sic gesta fuisse ut scribimus, a fratrum qui videre et ipsius ore qui sic evaserat non semel audivimus.

and expires in agony on the third day.

Tosti after this shows favour to Aldanhamal.

The writer has heard all this from the monks who saw it, and from Aldanhamal's own mouth.

Cap. VI.

Quomodo, corpore ipsius ad Lindisfarnensem insulam propinquante, fluctus expectaverint quousque omnes siccis pedibus transirent.

Ante, p. 98.

Exacto deinde paucorum numero annorum, cum excellentissimus rex primus Willelmus regnare cœpisset, comitem quendam, Rodbertum vocabulo, Northanhumbranæ regioni præfecit. Hic, cum in Dunelmum venisset, ab his quibus dominari debuerat circumventus,

A.D. 1069. After the death of earl Robert

Cumin, bishop Egelwin with a great crowd of fugitives fearing the Conqueror's vengeance, takes up the body of the Saint and goes to Lindisfarne.

mox cum suis omnibus crudeliter ob suam occiditur crudelitatem; non enim ut rectores et defensores se regionis exhibebant, sed rapinis et stupris etiam in legitima sæviebant matrimonia. Unde rex indignatus, ut præsumptores illi digna ultione plecterentur, exercitum illuc direxit. Quod ubi eorum auribus rumor ingesserat, innocentes æque ut nocentes fugam parant, isti ne quod meruerant occiderentur, illi ne dum innocentes esse nescirentur pro nocentibus punirentur. Tunc quidem habito inter se consilio, episcopus cum congregatione, cunctique in terra meliores venerabile patris corpus secum asportaverunt, invicem conferentes incomparabiliter sibi melius fore una die omnes interire, quam sine ipso fugam inire. Est insula quæ Lindisfarnea dicitur, cujus supra quoque meminimus, ubi, cum in hac carnis infirmitate degeret, ipse monachus monachórum cœtui præpositi prioratu prælatus, ac deinde pontificali sede sublimatus, ad postremum quoque, decurso hujus vitæ termino, fuerat tumulatus. Hæc quippe insula, recedentibus et accedentibus oceani æstibus, bis quaque die adiri valet itinere terreno, totiensque non nisi navali ingreditur vehiculo. Ad quam circa vesperam, qua videlicet hora tunc secundum naturæ suæ qualitatem circumquaque plenum erat mare, ipsius cum corpore sanctissimo innumera cleri et populi utriusque sexus et ætatis multitudo cum appropinquaret, nam in ea, quousque quid ageret exercitus scirent, expectare decreverant, ad invicem conferebant. "Modo "quid faciemus, qui ne insulam intremus fluctuum "altitudine prohibemur, nec quo tantam frigoris "asperitatem declinemus manendi locum habemus." Erat enim tunc hiemis frigus acerrimum, velut fieri solet circa Natale Dominicum.

When they came opposite the island the tide was in; but a way was miracu-

Hæc dicentes, ad ipsum insulæ aditum pervenerant; ubi, sexui infirmiori et ætati teneriori, ne frigore tam aspero pariter omnes periclitarentur, maxime condolentes, donec circa mane secundum consuetudinem

suam mare recessisset, se pernoctare timebant. Sed ecce! inæstimabilis Dei clementia, magis magisque volens declarare quanti pensaret confessoris sui merita, illic quoque antiqua pietatis suæ renovavit mirabilia. Nam subito, quod nec ipsi sperare noverant, siccum introeundi aditum illo tantum loco mare permiserat; cum, sicut diximus, circumquaque fluctuaret plenissimum. Perpendat, quæso, legentium caritas, quanta potuerit esse omnium illorum lætitia qui nunc per ipsa legerunt opera, quod nobis antiquitus gestum Mosaici pandit cantici littera. Dicit enim, "Stetit unda fluens, "congregatæ sunt abissi in medio mari." Et in subsequentibus, "Filii autem Israel ambulaverunt per siccum in medio mari." Quod mox omnes ingressi, de tanto supernæ pietatis miraculo et stupebant et gaudebant, laudesque Divinæ miserationi et beatissimo confessori decantantes, siccis pedibus insulæ littus attingebant. Sed et dilectio fratrum, qui et ad sæculum nobiles et morum gravitate nobiliores in militari habitu tunc feretrum portabant, nunc autem nobiscum in ejusdem patris monasterio, hoc est in Dunelmo professi, veri sunt actu et habitu monachi, dulcissima nobis relatione magnaque cordis compunctione sæpius solet attestari, quomodo se præcedentes fluctus marini post vestigia continuo sequerentur, ita ut nec paulatim euntibus præcurrerent, nec concite pergentibus diutius remanerent.

lously opened for them through the sea.

Exod. xv. 8.

ib. v. 19.

Cap. VII.

Quomodo post CCCC.X. *et* VIII. *annos corpus beati Cuthberti incorruptum sit inventum, et in novam ecclesiam translatum.*

§ 1. Inter hæc tam frequentium miraculorum opera non eadem apud omnes tam de præsentia sacri corporis beati Cuthberti, quam de incorruptione habebatur opi-

At the beginning of the twelfth century, there was

much difference of opinion about the body of the Saint.

nio. Alii namque illud multo ante hanc ætatem vi quadam occulta alio translatum vanis sibi conjecturis somniabant; atque sepulchrum, licet nunc talis depositi careat commendato, non tamen evacuari virtutum gloria, sed, ad indicium pristini inhabitatoris, nunc quoque celebriter effulgere miraculis. Alii autem sacras quidem reliquias ibidem contineri, sed humani corporis compagem per tot sæculorum volumina indissolutam permanere, jura dicebant excedere naturæ; et, licet virtus Divina omnibus quod vult et quomodo vult imperet naturis, hanc tamen in hujus corporis incorruptione nullius qui vel manu vel visu explorasset testimonio sibi patere; atque ideo difficile sibi de hoc, quamlibet sancto corpore, credere inexpertum, quod raro paucissimis aliorum sanctorum corporibus noverant concessum. Taliter his ablationem sancti corporis conjectantibus, illis incorruptionem non admittentibus, affirmantium illud et adesse, et incorruptum perdurare, fratrum fidei detrahebatur, ideoque pudor aliquantisper anxius ingerebatur. Quapropter ipsi fratres, mentibus ad Deum ac precibus conversi, orabant ut Qui est "mirabilis in sanctis suis," Hic Sese, ostensione tantæ virtutis, mirabilem ostenderet, et dubium in dubiis indiciis nomini suo dans gloriam excluderet.

The monks pray that the doubt may be set at rest.

Ps. lxvii.

A.D. 1104. The new cathedral being nearly finished, a day is fixed for the translation.

§ 2. Interea ecclesia, quam quondam Guillelmus episcopus fundaverat, non parva ex parte perfecta, venerabile patris Cuthberti corpus in hanc fuerat transferendum, et dignæ venerationis gratia in loco, quem studiosa manus artificum adaptaverat, decenter recondendum. Imminente itaque IIII. kal. Septembris, die scilicet qui ad sollemnem translationem fuerat præfinitus, inierunt consilium fratres, ut, quoniam nemo supererat qui per experimentum edoceret, ipsi, quantum Deo permittente liceret, qualiter circa corpus sanctum singula composita, qualiter ordinata essent explorarent; atque ad id die venturo transportandum quæque digna et convenientia viderentur, maturius

præpararent; ne videlicet, cum hora festivæ processionis institerit, aliqua ex improvidentia difficultas impedimentum faciat, atque ita, ex mora exspectationi universorum qui advenerint ingrata, agendis sollemnibus obsequiis fiat injuria. Jussi ergo fratres, numero novem,[a] adjuncto sibi priore ipsius ecclesiæ, Turgoto, qui jejuniis et obsecrationibus ad hoc sese præparaverant, IX. kal. Septembris noctis initio, ante venerabilem sepulchrum prosternuntur, effusisque lacrimis et precibus, manus non sine timore ac tremore apponunt, ut illud aperiant. Quo tandem instrumentis ferralibus patefacto, inveniunt stupentes arcam, quam ex omni parte diligenter parata clavisque affixa ferreis coria totam obduxerant. Quæ videlicet arca, pondere sui et magnitudine, aliis quoque quibusdam indiciis facile dabat intelligi, intra sua claustra loculi alterius depositum contineri. Sed hanc aperire cum diu timore impediente dubitarent, supranominato priore bis terque jubente, confisi obedientiæ virtute, inceptum opus repetunt, ac, dissolutis ferreis ligaminibus, arcam quandoque aperiunt. Vident introrsus positum loculum de ligno, quem grossior de lino triplicis texturæ pannus undique circumdederat, ad mensuram staturæ virilis longum, ejusdemque generis tabula coopertum. Hærebant diu; non enim satis elucebat utrum ipsum sancti corporis hospitium esset, an et aliud adhuc sacras continens reliquias intra se domicilium contineret. Tandem in se reversi, memores dictorum Bedæ, qui corpus beati Cuthberti a fratribus quondam Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ post XI. sepulturæ annos incorruptum inventum, atque supra pavimentum dignæ venerationis gratia reconditum describit; horum, inquam, dictorum remi-

It is resolved to investigate the state of the relics; nine monks, with the prior, are appointed for this duty

24 Aug.

They open the coffin; within is a wooden chest, which they recognise as that described by Beda.

Vit. S. Cuth. 43.

[a] The names of these nine monks are given by Reginald in his *Libellus* on St. Cuthbert, ch. 40; they were —Aldwine the sub-prior, Leofwine, Wiking, Godwin and Osbern the sacrists, Henry and William Havegrim the archdeacons, Algar afterwards prior, and Symeon.

niscentes, hanc eandem esse arcam animadvertunt, quæ per tot annos tantum cælestis depositi thesaurum conservasset.

They are afraid for a time to proceed further

§ 3. Pariter ergo corruentes in terram, orabant suppliciter, ut sua beatus Cuthbertus intercessione iram a se Omnipotentis Dei averteret, si hanc aliquatenus ex præsumptione meruissent. Inerat eis gaudium mixtim cum pavore, quia etsi ex audacia timuissent offensam, ex certitudine tamen tanti muneris ingentem conceperant lætitiam. Agente itaque gaudio resolvuntur in lacrimas, et, gratiarum actione Domino reddita, desiderio suo satisfactum reputabant. Unde ad ipsa sacri corporis secreta altius perscrutanda manus admovere videbatur temeritatis, quam, ut putabant, secutura divinitus ultio nullo modo relinqueret impunitam. Remissa ergo intentione ulterius quicquam perquirendi, tractabant vicissim, quo et quam congruo apparatu futuræ translationis die corpus debuisset asportari.

But Leofwine, one of their number, shows that their action has nothing in it rash or irreverent, and urges them to go on.

Porro inter alios ibidem aderat quidam magnæ in Christo constantiæ frater, qui eam, quam nomine prætendebat, per effectum gratiæ caritatem consecutus fuerat. Vocabatur enim Leofwinus, quod Anglorum lingua dicitur Carus Amicus; ipse utique carus Deo, amicus et Deus illi. Patrem namque illius Se fuisse Deus ostendit, continua illum infirmitate castigando; ille filium Dei se fuisse ostendit, flagella Dei patienter tolerando, et gratias semper agendo. Cujus conversationem vitæ quicumque noverat, Sanctum in illius pectore Spiritum requiescere dubitare non poterat. Is cum videret fratres trepidantes inventum aperire loculum, et quid gratiæ cælestis, quid novæ exultationis sibi offerret introspicere, accedens in medium, et ferventiori quam solitus fuerat spiritu proloquens, "Quid "agitis," inquit, "fratres? Quid timetis? Bonum illa "semper actio finem merebitur, quæ Deo auctore in"spirata inchoatur. Dat nobis spem inveniendi, Qui "dedit voluntatem inquirendi. Atque ea quæ hucusque

"sine difficultate peregimus, indicio sunt quid boni de "hoc quod restat agendum sperare debeamus. Nunquam tam prospere nobis cessissent initia, si hæc "usque finem perducere dispositio nollet divina. Nec "unquam a Deo arguetur temeritatis, quod procedit "ex animo devotionis. Neque enim ex contemptu vel "ex diffidentia sanctitatis ejus aggredimur illius explorare reliquias, sed ut virtutum Dominus, ipse Rex "gloriæ, eo devotius ab omnibus glorificetur quo his "temporibus sublimius ex ejus virtute miraculum monstretur. Proinde sacri hospitii videamus interiora,
1 Joh. i. 1. "quatinus de hoc 'Quod viderimus oculis nostris, quod "'perspexerimus, quod manus nostræ tractaverint,' "nobis constanter attestantibus, nullum detrahentibus "nobis relinquamus argumentum, quo id, quod asserimus, deinceps possit esse ambiguum."

§ 4. Hac viri Deo devoti admonitione, fratres, resumpta fiducia, venerandum corpus de post altare, ubi eatenus jacuerat, in medium chori detulerunt, ubi largioris loci spatio quod res posceret licentius agere valerent. Ibi, ablato quod locellum obtexerat velamine, non statim ausi sunt aperire, sed, cum candelis circumeuntes, diligenter explorarunt, si per aliquas forte rimulas vel aliud quodlibet indicium, quid intrinsecus lateret deprehendere potuissent. Sed cum hæc agentibus nil certum pateret, tandem amoto, licet paventes, operculo, vident librum Evangeliorum ad caput supra tabulam positum, ipsamque tabulam tribus per transversum positis sustentari ligneolis, quæ ad mensuram loculi in latum et longum sese extendens, ea quæ subter erant universa cooperuerat. Habuerat autem immissos sibi duos, unum a capitis, et alterum a parte pedum, ex ferro circulos, per quos hanc levantibus nullum difficultas faceret impedimentum. Certum erat sub manibus esse quod quærebant, sed, utrum id inter manus tractarent, incertum habebant. Inerat namque illis ex amore desiderium videndi atque tractandi quod

They raise the lid of the chest; what they see inside.

dilexerant, sed ex conscientia peccatorum timor illos ne id auderent repellebat. Ita inter hæc duo dubii pendebant, ut pæne nescirent quid magis vellent. Qui taliter titubantes, jussione prioris et hortatione fratris prædicti roborati, tabulam quandoque levant; ablatoque quod proxime post tabulam sacras cooperuerat reliquias lintheamine, suavissimi odoris fragrantiam naribus trahunt. Et, ecce! beati patris venerabile corpus, scilicet fructum desiderii sui, reperiunt, quod, in dextro latere jacens, tota sui integritate artuumque flexibilitate dormientem magis repræsentabat quam mortuum. Quo viso, pavore percelluntur ingenti, et paulo longius recedentes, non ausi sunt quod patebat intueri miraculum. Cœperunt flexis crebro genibus pectora pugnis tundere, et, oculis cum manibus in altum levatis, sæpius inclamare, "Miserere nostri, Domine, miserere." Interdum id quod singuli viderant, ac si non vidissent, sibi vicissim nuntiare. Prostrati toto tandem corpore, lacrimis ubertim fluentibus, septem pœnitentialibus psalmis supplicant Dominum, ne in furore suo eos argueret, neque in ira sua illos corriperet.

On the removal of the linen covering over the body, a delicious odour is perceived. The body is found entire and flexible, as of one asleep rather than dead.

§ 5. Quibus finitis, genibus ac manibus potius reptando quam pedibus incedendo accedentes, tot sanctorum reliquias ibidem conspiciunt, ut eas illius loculi angustia capere non potuisset, nisi sanctum patris corpus in latus, ut dictum est, decumbens, largius eis una secum quiescendi spatium hinc et inde permitteret. Quas profecto reliquias, ut in veteribus libris legitur, constat esse caput glosiosi regis et martyris Oswaldi, ossa quoque venerabilium confessorum Christi ac sacerdotum, Aidani videlicet, et successorum ipsius venerandi patris Cuthberti, scilicet Eadberti, Eadfridi, et Ethelwoldi. Præterea et ossa venerabilis Bedæ, qui vitam beati Cuthberti dilucide conscripserat, una cum illius corpore hospitium quietis habuerant, quæ pariter continebat sacculus de lino. A quo autem de Girvum, ubi post illius obitum sepulta fuerant, illuc translata

An immense quantity of the relics of other saints found within the chest.

Ante, p. 221.

Ante, p. 88.

sint, alibi plane habetur scriptum.[1] Qui enim ossa beati Boisili, ipse et doctoris Bedæ sibi revelata in Dunelmensem ecclesiam comportavit, sed diversis in locis ejusdem ecclesiæ ea collocavit. Aliorum quoque sanctorum plurimæ ibidem reliquiæ sunt repertæ. Voluerunt ergo sacrum corpus patris ex latere versum resupinare; sed quia hoc, propter circumpositarum multitudinem reliquiarum, commode non poterant, placuit ut, amoto inde paululum sancto corpore, sanctorum reliquias pariter congregarent, eisque seorsum repositis, suam deinceps singulariter quietis sedem corpus incorruptum servaret. Sed cum ad illud contingendum manus formidarent apponere, orationibus fratris supranominati animos resumunt, ut, ad omne quod majores jusserint, prompti obedire assistant. Cum ergo duo quibus jussum fuerat, unus a capite, alter a pedibus venerabile corpus de loco suæ dormitionis elevarent, cœpit illud quasi adhuc vivens per medium inflecti, carneque solidum et ossibus pondere naturali ad ima demergi. Protinus ex præcepto accurrens tertius, brachiis complexus est medium, sicque illud, substratis tapetiis ac palliis, reverenter in pavimentum deponunt. Quæ tunc illorum omnium lacrimæ, quas magnitudo effuderat lætitiæ! Quæ voces gratulationis! Quæ laudes exultationis, cum jam ante oculos hunc gratiæ cælestis haberent thesaurum, in cujus comparatione omne illis viluit aurum! Jam sibi nihil defuturum reputabant, cum inpræsentiarum quasi viventem cernerent, per quem sibi largitas divina et præsentis vitæ subsidia et futuræ gaudia conferret.

These are removed, and the body, borne by three persons, is placed for a while on the pavement,

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[a] This seems to be a clear allusion to the account of Elfred's abstraction of the bones of Beda from Jarrow, given in the *Hist. Dun. Eccl.* iii. 7. This chapter therefore was written after the History, as indeed might be certainly inferred from the way in which Ralph abbot of Seez is spoken of further on. See note to that passage.

then laid again in the chest till the following night.

§ 6. Interea, reliquiis sanctorum ablatis, suam in thecam patris corpus reposuerunt, ventura nocte condignius illud ac decentius locaturi, pro eo quod, jam tunc instante hora nocturnæ laudis, angustia temporis non patiebatur eos his diutius immorari. Quapropter decantato humili voce, "Te Deum laudamus," corpus sanctum illo unde transtulerant, in Psalmis jubilantes Domino, retulerunt.

The nine monks report what they have seen; bishop Ranulf refuses to believe it.

§ 7. Cum autem mane facto in cœtu fratrum collecto memoriam facerent mirabilium Dei, illi ex novitate rei primo in quendam quasi stuporem versi, postea magis lacrimis quam vocibus conceptum ex hoc suæ mentis gaudium sunt attestati, flexisque in terram genibus, gratias reddiderunt Jhesu Christo, qui eis, et cujus meriti esset quem patronum habebant ostendere, et quid sibi de meritis illius sperare potuissent, dignatus sit edocere. At episcopus, non facile his accommodans fidem, omnino judicabat incredibile, corpus, quamlibet sanctum, tamen humanum, per tantum temporis, id est per quadringentos decem et octo annos, ab omni corruptionis labe intactum perdurare. Cui vix aliquando satisfacere illi jurejurando poterant, qui etiam non jurando non verum dicere crimen ducebant.

On the next night the same monks, after again laying the body on the pavement,

§ 8. Nocte vero secuta idem qui ante affuerant fratres, in spiritu humilitatis et in animo contrito delatum rursus in medium chori venerabile corpus, super pallia per pavimentum strata et tapetia deponunt, quod primo extrinsecus pretiosi generis pallium, et post hoc ex purpura dalmatica, deinde lintheamina obvolverant; quæ omnia sine ulla corruptionis macula, integra et candida priscam sui novitatem reservabant. Casula autem, quam per undecim annos habuerat in sepulcro, jam a fratribus tunc inde ablata, alibi pro ostendendo incorruptionis signo nunc servatur in ecclesia. Cum ergo nervis solidum et ex integro incorruptum corpus visu et manibus tractando, levando, ac deponendo certo

percepissent, atque sollemni apparatu curatum vidissent, ad ea quibus ante fuerat involutum ex abundanti, pallium quod cæteris pretiosius in ecclesia poterat inveniri, et subtilissimam superaddiderunt sindonem. Quibus magna cum diligentia circumdatum, in suæ quietis placidæ habitaculum cum multa precum et multa dulcium lacrimarum devotione reposuerunt. Sed et alia, sicut fuerant inventa cum illo, recondiderunt, pectinem scilicet eburneum et forpices, suæ adhuc novitatis gratiam retinentes; et, quæ sacerdotem decebant, altare videlicet argenteum, et corporalia, et cum patena calicem, parvum quidem sed materia et opere pretiosum; cujus inferior pars, figura leonis ex auro purissimo, gestat dorso lapidem onichinum arte pulcherrima cavatum, qui ex studio artificis ita inhæret leoni, ut manu facile possit in gyrum verti, nec tamen auferri. Porro reliquiarum sanctarum quas ejusdem loculi cum illo incluserat hospitium, solum caput beati regis Oswaldi juxta caput gloriosi pontificis, sicut et ante fuerat, locarunt. Nam cæteræ, sicut prædictum est, inde elatæ, alibi sollemniter compositæ in ecclesia, celebriter reservantur reliquiæ. Clauso ergo in suam thecam beati patris corpore, eam panno ex lino grossiore, quem totum cera infuderat, undique circumdatam, usque post altare, ubi prius requieverat, retulerunt, Dominum virtutum benedicentes in operibus suis, qui facit mirabilia solus, cujus magna opera exquisita in omnes voluntates ejus.

wrap it in additional vestments and replace it in the chest.

Of all the relics that were along with it, only the head of St. Oswald is allowed to remain.

§ 9. Interea promulgato longe lateque venturæ translationis die, ingens fit undecumque Dunelmum usque populorum concursus; sicut diversæ dignitatis et ætatis, ita et professionis, sæcularis videlicet vitæ et spiritualis, personæ perplures, qui, agnito incorrupti tam longo tempore corporis miraculo, plurimum in Domino lætantur; eique laudis et gratiarum actione reddita, sua exultant tempora tantæ virtutis ostensione visitari. Inter hos quidam, ex numero abbatum qui advenerant,

A multitude of persons comes to Durham to be present at the translation.

The abbot of a neighbouring monastery blames what has been done.

He says that others besides the Durham monks should have borne a part in the investigation.

in his quæ facta fuerant injuriam sibi calumniabatur illatam; arguens improvidæ temeritatis fratres ecclesiæ, qui, se inconsulto nec adhibito, tale tamque insolitum opus per se ausi fuissent aggredi. Oportere namque aiebat se, cum vicinus esset, futurum hujus facti participem advocari; cujus assertione testimonium veritatis posset comprobari. Fratres namque qui his secretis nullum ex alia ecclesia testem voluerant assistere, verisimile esse dixit, non tam verum de suo Sancto dicere, quam fingere. "Unde," ait, "ratio videtur exposcere "tam incredibilis rei veritatem etiam ab aliis indagan-"dam, ut populo qui tam frequens accurrit, id nostro "testimonio affirmare possimus, quod etiam nos ipsi "oculis perspeximus." Hæc in auribus illorum qui cum eo venerant sæpius replicans, animos quorumdam in suum inclinavit assensum. Jam denunciata translationis dies instabat, et, calumnia abbatis in conventum fratrum delata, gravi mentes illorum concutiuntur scandalo; quo et mendacii notabantur infamia, et iteranda sancti corporis appetebatur revelatio, quam nec extraneis permittere, nec ipsi ulterius ausi sunt iterare. Fit ergo partium magna contentio, abbate obtendente solam fratrum ipsius ecclesiæ non esse admittendam de suo Sancto attestationem; fratribus ex suspecta fide sua confusis, et reclamantibus, vel loci desolationem vel suam de loco expulsionem eum moliri; qui, cum illorum cum juramento testimonium quasi fictum repellat, sacrilegos eos et omnibus detestandos judicat. "Qua-"propter absit," inquiunt, "ut ad sacra contuenda huic "concedatur aditus, quo agente in suspicionem gravis "mendacii pervenimus. Qui enim heri nobiscum ex-"ultantes 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' cantaverant, hodie "nonnulli eorum, calumniante abbate, ex mendacio "nos suspectos habent."

The monks are much disturbed at this imputation on their good faith.

Prudent speech of Ralph the abbot of Seez,

§ 10. His ita contendentibus, cum contentioni nullus potuisset finis imponi, utriusque partis se mediatorem interposuit venerabilis memoriæ Radulfus, tunc quidem

abbas Sagiensis monasterii, sed postea Cantuariorum archiepiscopus. Is, cum multæ mansuetudinis esset et religionis, in scripturis quoque sanctis nobiliter eruditus, cupiens inter dissidentes reformare pacem, "Verum "est, ait, quod scriptura dicit, 'In ore duorum vel "'trium testium stabit omne verbum;' quanto magis "in ore plurimorum et tam probabilium, ut de illo-"rum testimonio nulla quemquam ratio permittat du-"bitare. Credimus plane divinæ virtutis opus vobis "in beati Cuthberti corpore revelatum; credimus, in-"quam, propter quod 'Laudem Domini loquitur os "'meum, et benedicit anima mea Domino.' Cum au-"tem tanta sit hujus miraculi evidentia, temerarius "forte videbor, si vobis ostensam corporis sancti in-"corruptionem, etiam nobis ostendendam postulavero. "Et tamen in hac postulatione nec temerarius videri "debeo nec superfluus, quia cum 'Perfecta caritas "'foras mittat timorem,' id ex multa caritate postu-"landum præsumo, quod ex dilectione præsumendum "postulo. Adjuvat preces nostras etiam quæ inpræ-"sentiarum accidit causa, ista scilicet fratris nostri "abbatis dubietas, quæ nisi et aliorum testimonio a "corde illius fuerit exclusa, justas contra vos sibi "videbitur movisse calumnias; et in has in futurum "plures sibi contrahet consentaneos. Sed, ut video, "ex Dei providentia facta est illi hæc dubitatio, ut "unde vos æstimatis grave fieri scandalum, inde, ordi-"nante Deo, cumulatior huic loco proveniat gloria. "Nam prosequente preces nostras gratiæ vestræ favore, "cum jam, sicut audivimus, ita etiam nos ipsi videri-"mus, tanto citius obmutescet obtrectantium calumnia, "quanto et vestrum et nostrum testimonium eadem "corroboraverit experientia. Tantoque latius in beato "Cuthberto gloria Dei prædicabitur, quanto magis "nos, qui hanc oculis probavimus, per diversas lon-"gius partes hinc remeantes dispersi, ea omnibus pan-"dere instituerimus."

advocating a further examination.

Deut xvii. 6.

Tob. xiii. 19.

1. Joh. iv. 18.

It is agreed that several of the leading clergy present, with Alexander brother of the king of Scotland, shall visit the relics.

§ 11. His venerandi abbatis precibus jam episcopus præbuisset assensum, nisi fratribus videretur non statim ei consentiendum, qui grave sibi ex judicio Dei periculum imminere formidabant, si sanctum corpus denuo cuiquam ostendendum inconsulte permitterent. Sed prudentium amicorum flexi consilio, tandem, licet difficillime, in hoc consentiunt, ut, amoto abbate qui eis non credendum censuerat, humilis ac religiosus petitor cum aliis qui digni viderentur, ad novam miraculi inspectionem admittatur. Quandoque tamen a consulentibus persuasum est eis, ut etiam illum quam maxime huic rei interesse concederent, qui ipsorum testimonii dubius dubitare et alios fecerat, quatenus ejus miraculi contemplator assisteret, quod eis attestantibus ipse credere noluisset. Taliter contentione sedata, ducente priore, ingrediuntur oratorium, albis induti, prædictus abbas Sagiensis, et Ricardus abbas monasterii S. Albani, et Stephanus abbas S. Mariæ Eboraci, et Hugo abbas S. Germani in Selebi. Post quos Alexander frater regis Scottorum Ædgari, paulo post ejusdem fratris sui futurus in regnum successor, et Guillelmus[a] tunc Dunelmensis episcopi clericus, sed post sæpedictum Radulfum ecclesiæ Cantuariensis archiepiscopus; deinde et alii qui designati fuerant religiosæ vitæ, tam monachi quam clerici, numero quadraginta, sequuntur. Præterea et plures ejusdem ecclesiæ fratres, nam cæteri episcopo assistebant, jam tunc in ecclesia altare dedicanti. Præmissa itaque suppliciter ab omnibus oratione, sanctum corpus defertur in chorum, ubi, loculo quo prius concluserant a fratribus patefacto, prior, elata manu, gravi prohibuit interdicto, ne vel ad corpus vel ad aliquid eorum quæ circa illud fuerant contingendum quisquam præter abbatem de Sagio manum admoveret. Cæteros jubet propius assistere, et visu potius quam

The prior forbids any one but the abbot of Seez to touch anything.

[a] William of Curboil, who succeeded Ralph at Canterbury in 1122; this narrative must therefore have been written after that date.

contactu veritatem rei experiendo capere. Fratres quoque monasterii præcepit indesinenter adesse et vigilanti semper obtutu observare, ne vel particulam fili indumentorum quæ corpus obvolverant, ullo modo aliquis auferret. Fiunt quæ jussa fuerant. Memoratus abbas, uno ejusdem ecclesiæ fratre se juvante, involuta explicans vestimenta circa venerandum caput, utraque illud manu cunctis aspicientibus paululum erexit, et in diversas reflectendo partes integra omnibus juncturis colli compage reliquo id corpori cohærere invenit. Deinde, manu admota, firmius aurem trahens et retrahens, et post hoc alias quoque corporis partes manu perscrutante explorans, solidum nervis et ossibus cum carnis mollitie repperit corpus. Id etiam per caput tenendo concutiens, adeo in sublime erexit, ut in habitaculo suæ quietis pœne sedere visum fuerit. Et ne quid diligentiæ inquirentis deesset, circa pedes quoque et crura eandem studuit experiri integritatem. Fuerant autem nonnulli qui hoc aliquanto diutius intueri paventes, positis super oculos manibus exclamarent eum plusquam res postularet veritatis exequi probationem, cujus tam evidenter ipse tenuisset certitudinem. Cum ergo incorruptionis miraculum satis superque pius inquisitor explorasset, elevata in medium voce proclamavit, "Ecce!" inquiens, "fratres, hoc corpus jacet hic "quidem exanime, sed ita sanum et integrum, sicut "ea die qua, cælestia petens, id sancta reliquerat "anima."

Precautions against pious thefts.

Abbot Ralph lifts up the head, examines the whole body, and declares it incorrupt.

§ 12. Diligenter deinde compositis, sicut ante fuerant, omnibus, fratres monasterii veraces et fide digni ab omnibus prædicantur; et ille qui eis non credendum judicaverat, simul cum aliis hoc quod ante abnuerat credendum, sive volens sive nolens, affirmabat. Jamque "Te Deum laudamus" exultantibus cunctis solemniter decantato, omnibusque quæ res poposcerat decenter dispositis, corpus patris humeris portantium excipitur, et in honorem Omnipotentis Dei cantantium

The translation is then proceeded with.

R 2

voces hymnis late concrepant cælestibus. Præcedentibus cum aliorum reliquiis sanctorum scriniis, cum ad ultimum venerabile beati Cuthberti corpus cum festivioris obsequii apparatu efferretur ostio, frequens qui foris exspectaverat populus, in lacrimas præ gaudio resolutus, totus obviam ruit, ut portitores sancti corporis vix in tanta constipatione procedere potuissent, et tanto clamore commixtim orantium, exultantium, et exultando flentium, voces premerentur cantantium. Circumeuntes autem novam extrinsecus ecclesiam, ad orientalem ejus plagam stationem fecerunt, ubi, sermonem faciente episcopo, astabant et ipsi, qui miraculum incorruptionis inventæ, quæ jam per quadringentos decem et octo annos in humano corpore perduraverat, se et vidisse et contrectasse omnibus qui advenerant populis pandebant. Nova illi exultatione ad agendas Deo gratias accenduntur, qui suæ devotionem mentis dignatus est remunerare tanta gratiæ cælestis manifestatione. Jam dies in altum processerat, et episcopus, multa quæ præsentis negotii non postulaverat causa interserens, longioris multos sermonis fecerat tædere. Sed cum tanta esset cæli serenitas ut nullum venturæ pluviæ signum in aere appareret, tanta cœperunt inundatione subito imbres ruere, ut confestim interrupto sermone loculum sancti corporis fratres corriperent, et ecclesiæ concite inferre festinarent. Quo illato, pluvia continuo cessavit, ut hinc nimirum daretur intelligi, Deo non esse placitum famuli sui sacrum corpus aliquanto diutius extra sancta loca detineri. Sed et hoc nullatenus silentio prætereundum videtur, quod cum tanta esset effusio pluviæ inundantis, non tamen vel ornamenta ecclesiæ, quæ tunc omnia fuerant exposita, vel vestes quorumlibet, qui tunc cultius procedebant, ullam ex pluvia vel decoris sui vel usus contraxerint læsionem. Collocato ergo ubi decenter paratum fuerat corpore beati pontificis, resultante laudibus Dei ecclesia, sollemnis celebratur missa, peractisque in salutem

Enthusiasm of the spectators.

The bishop preaches outside the cathedral.

A heavy shower of rain.

The body is placed in the shrine prepared for it.

Luc. ii. 20. fidelium sacrosanctis mysteriis, "ad propria remearunt "cum gaudio, glorificantes et laudantes Deum in om- "nibus quæ viderant et audierant." Facta est hæc incorrupti corporis manifestatio sive translatio post annos depositionis ejus quadringentos decem et octo, et quinque menses, et duodecim dies: hoc est anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo quarto, qui est quintus annus regni Henrici; episcopatus vero Rannulfi sextus. Ab origine vero mundi fuerant tunc anni transacti sex millia trecenti tres.

Exact date of this translation.

APPENDIX.

OPUSCULA SÆCULIS NONO ET DUODECIMO LITTERIS MANDATA AD ORIGINES ET PRISTINUM STATUM LINDISFARNENSIS SIVE DUNHELMENSIS ECCLESIÆ SPECTANTIA.

I. Carmen ÆÐELWULFI de abbatibus cellæ suæ.

II. Gaufridi Vita Bartholomæi anachoretæ Farnensis.

III. Reginaldi Vita Sancti Oswaldi Regis et Martyris.

I.

[ÆÐELWULFUS DE ABBATIBUS.[a]]

Sume, pater, placidus modulantis vota poetæ,
Quatinus æterno capias cum Rege quietem,
Atque petas superas meritis splendentibus arces,
Hunc memorare libens semper, lectissime præsul,
Sancta supernorum conscendens sceptra polorum,
Mercedemque tuam quam jussit reddere calvus,
Nocte dieque simul cunctæ per tempora vitæ,
Teque tuosque simul clementia protegat alta;
Quo decus immensum radians per sæcula cuncta
Omnibus in sanctis clarescit lumine miro.
Corpore, mente, manu, cunctis et sensibus una
Jam Dominum colitans celsum sine fine, valeto.

Incipit præfatiuncula.

Amicorum præstantissimo atque dilectissimo sacerdoti magno Ecgberto, presbyter[b] meritis exiguus Aediluulf intimæ caritatis salutem: ÆÐelwulf dedicates his poem to Egbert bishop of Lindisfarne (802–820).

[a] The question, what was the monastery, the history of which is related in this singular poem, has been discussed in the Introduction, where reasons are given for the belief that Craik, near York, is the place intended. On bishop Egbert see above, *Hist. Dun. Eccl.* ii. 5. The text is founded on Bod. 163, a much better MS. than that used by Mabillon.

[b] Mabillon, finding "presbytero" in the Cambridge transcript sent to him, doubted whether it was not a mistake for "episcopo." But the Bodleian MS. has "presbyter," which is undoubtedly the true reading.

Incipiunt Capitula.[a]

Cap.

I. Salutatio vatis ad episcopum, de propinquis et monachis cellæ ejus.

II. De eo quod Horret, regnum indeptus, multos persequitur.

III. Quod erat Eanmund dux nobilis natu et moribus.

IV. Quod hic ad servitium Domini adtonsus proprio monasterio ibat.

V. Quod pontificem adiens, doctorem vitæ regularis acquisivit.

VI. Quod veredarium mittat ad Christi monachum.

VII. Quod nuntius adveniens pastoris et fratrum gaudia cumulat.

VIII. Quod facta mira patris Ultan paucis memorantur.

IX. De Fridegilso sacerdote Christi.

X. De fratre Cuicuino ferrario.

XI. De fratre qui de carne ductus iterum reviviscebat.

XII. De obitu patris Eanmundi.

XIII. De Eorpuino successore Eanmundi, et fratre ejus Aldwino.

XIV. De Sigbaldo abbate, quomodo multis donariis et divitiis Lindisfarnensem ecclesiam ditavit.

XV. De Sigiwino abbate, fratre et successore Sigbaldi.

XVI. De Iglaco presbytero et lectore.

XVII. De fratribus cellæ, vel obitu pastoris.

XVIII. De Wlsigo sacerdote et abbate.

XIX. De Winfrido presbytero.

XX. De donis patrum et votis monachorum.

XXI. De canticis spiritualibus in apostolorum oratorio auditis.

XXII. Somnium quod vidit poeta die Dominica.

XXIII. Salutatio et precatio vatis ad sanctos et ad Dominum.

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[a] This list of chapters does not occur in the Bodleian MS.

CAP. I.

Salutatio vatis ad episcopum de propinquis et monachis cellæ ejus.

Cum te sancta manus præstantem reddidit Anglis,
  Hæc tibi complacuit rustica dona dare.
Rustica sed stolidis sudent si pectora dictis,
  Non stolidum carmen rustica plectra dabunt.
Nam tibi dum proceres proprio[1] de sanguine signant
  Jam Domino placidus gaudia magna capis.
Suscipe, docte pater, dilecti munus amici,
  Et grates Christo semper ubique cane,
Quod tua tam electi meruerunt stirpe creati
  Pastores, Domino qui placuere suo.
Nec minus et monachos præ miro munere claros
  Hic mirare legens scandere lucis iter.
Si quid in his cartis te dignum, reddere grates,
  Invenias, Domino maxime nunc moneo.
Sin alias, vati veniam dignare canenti,
  Nam tribuere pius quod potuit, cecinit.
Hæc tuo nam cupio requiem præstare labori,
  Carmina quæ Domino sanctificata sonant.
Adversum est quicquid moneo tolerare modeste,
  Nec querula in quoquam corde movere tua.
Mens requiem capiat semper sine fine benigne[2]
  In Domino Christo prosperitate pia.

The author commends his poem on the holy men of whom it treats to the judgment of the bishop.

CAP. II.

De eo quod Osred, regnum indeptus, multos persequitur.

Ecgfridus infesto Pictorum dum cadit ense,
En nothus Anglorum germanus regmina[3] sumsit
Alfridus, et natum genuit, qui nomine clarus,

A.D. 685. After the death of Egfrid, and the reign of

[1] Mab.; *propria*, Bod.
[2] erasus est hic versus in Bod.
[3] Mab.; *germina*, Bod.

Alfrid, Osred son of Alfrid succeeds. A.D. 705.

Gentibus enituit Saxonum regmina servans,
Gestis et verbis et omni strenuus actu.
Exstitit a primis sed non moderatus in annis,
Indocilis juvenis, nescit sensusque petulcos
Subcurvare animo, contemnens jura Tonantis,
Armipotens nimium, propriis in viribus audax.
Non proceres veneratus erat; non denique Christum,
Ut[1] decuit, coluit; vacuis sed subdidit omnem
Actibus, heu! vitam, mansit dum corpore vita.
Inde fuit, præsens parvo quod tempore sæclum
Manserat, atque diu potuit non ducere vitam.[a]

Osred kills some of the nobles and drives others into monasteries.

Hic igitur multos miseranda morte peremit,
Ast alios cogit summo servire Parenti,
Inque monasterii attonsos consistere sæptis.

Cap. III.

Quod erat Eanmund dux nobilis natu et moribus.

Among these last was Eanmund, who left the world and devoted himself to the divine service.

Ex his ergo fuit venerandus nomine pastor,
Eanmund ille pius, Christi sociatus amicis;
Actibus e sæcli, promissa ad præmia tendit,
Quæ sancti in cœlis Domino donante capessunt.
Nobilis hic nimium proceri de sanguinis ortu
Exstitit, in populis summo celebratus honore;
Nobilior Domino summæ pro culmine mentis.
Dux venerandus erat, fecit cui candida corda
Omnipotens genitor, plasmat qui corpora cuncta,
Ac mentes hominem spinis permundat ademtis.
Militiam sterilem magno devotus amore
Deseruit, famulans cunctæ per tempora vitæ
Rectori magno, moderat qui sæcula cuncta.

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[1] Mab.; *et*, Bod.

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[a] Osred was killed in his nineteenth year, A.D. 716; see Beda, H.E. v. 22.

Cap. IV.

Quod hic servitium Domini adtonsus in proprio monasterio inibat.

Anglorum proceres nimium trucidante tyranno,
Servitium Domini miles præfatus inibat,
Gaudebatque suo capiti portare coronam,
Vertice quam Christus quondam portabat opimo,
Dum passus mundo demsit spineta malorum,
Atque suos vitam fecit visitare beatos.
Nec solus meruit parmam captasse[1] supernam;
Quin plures lecti patrem comitantur eumdem,
Inque monasterio Domino se subdere temtant.
  Eanmundus Christo indeptus quod dederat almo,
Atque Petro pariter, servat qui examina cuncta,
Actibus æthereis farcent[a] quæ pectora casta,
Florigerisque nitent per tempora cuncta maniplis.
Cumque pater famulos cellam congessit in almam,
Quamplures cunctos sacris sermonibus ornat:
Utque[2] suo saltim cupiant servire parenti
Ammonuit pastor; meritum a numine poscit,
Quatenus e cælo veniens cum gaudio sanctus
Angelus, hos famulos dignetur reddere tutos:
Ut lupus ille ferus subjectos dente rapaci
Morsibus infectos laniat non pectore mæsto:
Sed potius Domino dignis virtutibus auctor,
Undique præcomtos, transmigret lucis in oras.
Talibus instituens docuit cum ductor ovile,
Quam nitidas Christo meruit conferre bidentes,
Agnos atque pios permiti contulit Agno,
Qui veniens sontis peccatum tollere mundi,
Insontem mundum fecit de sanguine fuso.

Attended by several others he enters the monastery of St. Peter.

[1] Mab.; *capasse*, Bod. | [2] Mab.; *atque*, Bod.

[a] Probably used by mistake for *farciunt*.

Cap. V.

Quod pontificem adiens, doctorem vitæ regularis acquisivit.

(698–721). Eadfrid was then bishop of Lindisfarne.

Pontificalis apex, meritorum munere clarus
Eadfridus enituit, sanctorum regminaservans.
Undæ quæ glaucis cupiunt crispare fluentis
Litora, quin refluis satagunt nudare meantes
Cursibus, et terram præcingunt cærula sanctam,
Atque itiner cupidum pandunt, cum litora nudant.
Hunc Domini servus veniens visitare sategit,
Poscebatque sibi superæ de germine messis
Pabula[1] jam tribui: cui promta mente sacerdos
Pectore de gnaro pandit salutaria dicta,
Imbribus atque piis sitientis corpora potat.
Auribus ille libens hausit, quæ ructat ab alto
Pectore, subque sui sumsit penetralia cordis
Mystica verba pii præsensu discit acuto.
Insuper arripiens memori narranda relatu,
Sensibus in cordis complectit cuncta rimatus.
Addidit ergo suis doctorem sedibus aptum.
Presbyter ille fuit, statuens monastica jura,
Instituitque novos, veterum munimenta revolvens,
Hic monachos, cælo tulerat quos spiritus auctor.

He gives Eanmund pious instructions, and at his request assigns a teacher to his monastery.

Cap. VI.

Quod veredarium mittat ad Christi monachum.

Eanmund sends to Ecgbert the bishop, requesting him to consecrate an

Hæc inter famulus Christi dum moribus almum
Pontificem discit Scottorum finibus esse,
Ecgberctum,[a] famulum cui fidum mittere curat,
Poscens ut monachos formaret rite libellis,

[1] Mab.; *tabula*, Bod.

[a] This was St. Egbert, who, according to the Chronicles, converted the monks of Iona to the right observance of Easter in 716, and died in 729. Beda, who gives us much information about this admirable man in the third and fourth books of his History, nowhere calls

Sanctificetque sibi venerandæ altare tabellæ,
Atque memor voti monstret sint quæ loca digna,
Quis possint sisti sacraria sancta Tonanti.
Paret et obsequitur præsul venerandus, euntem
Confirmat dictis, quin sacro munere ditat.
Mensa sacrata Deo magno sub nomine Petri
Advolat, et nigro cellam confirmat ab hoste.
Insuper et præsul poscenti talia dicta
Mittit; "Inoffensis pedibus tua tempora, frater,
"Pectore quin vitam casto servare memento;
"Quatinus exhausto instantis [1] certamine belli,[2]
"Perpetuam cæli capias sine fine quietem.
"Cernere me fateor carnali lumine numquam
"Mundos,[3] quos Dominus magno tibi munere donat.
"Ast tamen,[4] ut visus potuit portendere cordis,
"Collis [5] non magnus declivo tramite flexus,
"Quo sol consurgens trutinantis tempora Libræ
"Pervolat; hunc spinæ spissa cum fronde coronant.
"Calcibus has cisas [6] toto cum germine, frater,
"Æquoris et dorso prædicti auferre memento:
"Inque loco pulcrum Domino sic conde sacellum,
"Credula quo possint Christo persolvere corda
"Nocte dieque simul puro [7] de pectore vota."
Nuntius his dictis trusit per cærula puppim,
Atque suo properat dilecti ferre loquelas
Pontificis patri; manifestat dicta prophetæ.
Perficit inde pius perpulcri culmina templi,
Exterius tabulas perfundens tegmine plumbi,
Viribus et totis præcomtam reddere curat
Hanc ædem Domini; medio sub aggere mensam,
Diximus ut dudum, Petro quæ gignit odores
Præmites, statuit cælestis gratia terris,

altar for the church of St. Peter; he does so and sends it to him.

The bishop's message to Eanmund.

He has seen in vision a hill, on which Eanmund must build a chapel.

The messenger returns; the church is finished; the roof is covered with lead.

The altar.

[1] Mab.; *instantes*, Bod.
[2] Mab.; *bello*, Bod.
[3] *Fundos*, Mab.
[4] *noster*, Mab.
[5] Mab.; *mollis*, Bod.
[6] *scissas*, Mab.
[7] *preco*, Mab.

him a bishop, "pontificem"; but Alcuin, in his *Versus de Sanctis Eboracensis Ecclesiæ* (Jaffé, vol. vi.) speaks of him as an "antistes" living among the Scots, just as our author does.

Quam rutilis flagrat[1] passim, dum templa parenti
Jam[2] cæli ac terræ surgunt per rura vetusta.
  Hæc dum gesta suo instituit mandare magistro
Nuntius, ad patrem patris[3] perferre loquelas
Venerat, atque pio pastori talia fatur.

The bishop's message.

" Ecgbercht te Domini famulus sua voce salutat,
" Atque tuos pariter monachos, quos gratia Christi
" Ecclesiam vocitans mitis congessit in unam.
" Nocte dieque simul non cesso reddere grates
" Rectori summo, firmat qui vota suorum.
" Namque ego confiteor (nullus me dicere mendum
" Æstumet: en) rabidis discurrens viribus ira[4]
" Sæpiusque advolitat, spinisque immiscuit hirtis[5]

Robbers formerly occupied the hill with its thorn coverts.

" Turba nefanda feris, semper confisa sub armis,
" Undique confluitans, veluti cum culmina nota
" Adcurrens properat spinis immergier hirtis[5];
" Gaudet et adversis semper cumulata sub armis,
" Insidias multas disponit, facto frendens:
" Perque itiner durum non cessat ferre malignos,
" Quo labor æternus requiem non præstat eunti.
" Sed Domino grates, melius quod tempore nostro
" Hæc loca per Dominum meruerunt gaudia tanta

A better population now succeeds them.

" Sumere, pro priscisque[6] novos mutare colonos.
" Hinc moneo cunctos celso cumulare Tonanti
" Magnificas laudes, manibusque ad sidera tensis
" Dent Domino grates, mittit qui ad vota piorum
" Aligeras volucres, jungentque ad sæpta sacelli
" Innumeris precibus; sumtis ad sidera tranant
" Ante Deum, quæ fuerant pendentes, quas tamen ipse
" Pandat, si nullus poterit cognoscere certe.[7]
" Omnia quid memorem? veniunt cum luce ministri
" E cælo superi, portantque ad sidera sanctas
" Inde animas, Dominum laudantque in luce micantes,
" Florigerasque levant capiti sine fine coronas."

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[1] *flagrans*, Mab.
[2] Mab.; *nam*, Bod.
[3] Mab.; *petris*, Bod.
[4] versus hic deest in Mab.
[5] *istis*, Mab.
[6] Mab.; *viscis*, Bod.
[7] locus ab "Hinc moneo" ad "certe" valde depravatus est in codice Bodleiano.

Cap. VII.

Quod nuntius adveniens pastoris et fratrum gaudia cumulat.[1]

Talia dum memorans vatis jam nuntius infit,
Gaudia magna pater lætanti[2] in pectore gaudet
Eanmund, atque Deo grates ad sidera reddit,
Perfectisque suos studuit formare loquelis,
Quatenus ad vitam cupiant[3] properare beatam,
In cælis numquam poterit quæ sumere finem.
  Talibus aucta bonis monachorum corda virescunt, Fervour of the monks; their various employments.
Incipiuntque pii sese præcurrere Christo,
Actibus et verbis et cunctis sensibus almi.
Quidam nam cupiens insomnem ducere noctem,
Sanctas in precibus non cessat tendere palmas.
Ast alius genibus tundendo marmora templi,
Noctibus in gelidis tolerat dum frigora, vitat[4]
Ignibus in mediis ingentia frigora, vitat.
Divitias alius cupiens partire caducas,
Noctibus in furvis tempus sapienter et horas
Cleptat, et in cælis dispersa talenta recondit.
Ast alius miseris tribuens solamina panis,
Esuriem patiens perfert[5] jejunia sancta.[6]
  Talibus exornata bonis, in vestibus albis The statue of the Virgin Mary.
Inclita, sed vario comptim[7] permixta colore,
A dextris Virgo et Genitrix adstare videtur,[8]
Rectoris, cælos terras qui[9] et numine portat.

Cap. VIII.

Quod facta mira patris Ultan paucis memorantur.

Fama citat plures perfectam ducere vitam, Ultan the Scot was a famous disciple of Eanmund,
Quam pater Eanmundus præcultis moribus ornat:

[1] Mab.; *cumulas*, Bod.
[2] *gaudenti*, Mab.
[3] Mab.; *capiant*, Bod.
[4] *durat*, Mab.
[5] *perferre*, Mab.
[6] *sanctam*, Mab.
[7] *comti*, Mab.
[8] Mab.; *videre*, Bod.
[9] *quæ*, Mab.

E quibus est Ultan, præclaro nomine dictus.
Presbyter iste fuit Scottorum gente beatus,
Comtis qui potuit notis[1] ornare libellos,
Atque apicum speciem viritim sic reddit amœnam,
Hac arte ut nullus possit se æquare modernus
Scriptor.[2] Nec mirum Domini si talia possit
Cultor, cum digitos sanctus jam Spiritus auctor
Rexit, et accendit sacratam ad sidera mentem.
Hic igitur patris cellam visitabat amati,
Cœtibus ingrediens almis se immiscuit almus,
Moribus et sanctis monachos formabat acutus,
Sensibus et verbis, et carne, et pectore castus.
Instituit fratres rapiant ut lumina celsa,
Atque Deo studeant cunctis servire diebus,
Corpore quo possint præsentem carpere vitam.
Cumque Deo electus, perfecto tempore plenus,
Annos quamplures celebraret talia facta,[3]
Tandem confectus senio sua tempora scriptor
In melius mutat,[4] non mutans gaudia vitæ.
Cumque diu corpus mordebant viscera terræ,
E tumulo placuit cineres relevare fraternos,
Ossibus ac lotis compactæ viscere tumbæ,
Pondere quæ sancti permansit marmora templi,
Ossa sacrata pii promuntur corpora patris,
Visceribus terræ fundo rapiuntur opimo.[5]
Ossibus hinc lotis, portabant lintea munda
Solis in adspectu exuvias, cum luce repente
Adveniunt volucres geminæ, quæ lintea plantis
Contingunt: pariter vario permixta colore
Terga verenda nitent; modulantes[6] carmina rostris,
Concinnunt pulcre miranda ad gaudia cunctis;
Insuper atque alis sancti[7] calvaria velant.
Sicque diem totam non cessant ossibus ipsæ
Officium præstare piis, et cantibus odas

an illuminator of books,

and a zealous teacher.

He dies at a ripe age.

A wonder seen at his grave.

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[1] Mab.; *noctis*, Bod.
[2] *scriptorum*, Mab.
[3] *frater*, Mab.
[4] Mab. *motat*, Bod.
[5] Desunt hi quatuor versus, *ossibus-opimo*, apud Mab.
[6] Mab.; *molantes*, Bod.
[7] *aliis sanctum*, Mab.

Fundere perpulcris, donec absterserat omnem
Lux solis lympham, exuviasque exsiccat ab undis.
  Tum frater quidam, media cum mortis in umbra,
Tempore nonnullo jacuit, sua corpora morbus
Sorbuit, et nullum potuit commovere membrum,
Excepto linguæ plectro, quæ verba sonare
Vix potuit, puero languens hinc talia fatur:
"Curre, rogoque patris memorare afferre lacertum,
"Pingere[1] quo Domini meruit jam mystica verba,
"Quo signante queam præsens vitare periculum,
"Vel saltem meritis sancti mea crimina Christus
"Solvere dignetur, si addictus funera mortis
"Ingrediarque viam merear conscendere vitæ."
Paruit ille, puerque ad lintea sancta cucurrit:
Aufert inde, pium munusque adportat in ulnis.
Os capiti admotum morientis funera solvit,
At[2] medens ægrum curat virtute superna.
Continuo exsurgens, firmatus robore tanto,
Ut medicum possit medicans portare medentem,
Lætus et inde volans rectorem[3] ad lintea tollit,
Atque Deo grates reddit pro munere tanto,
  At cuneus fratrum numerum contractus in unum,
Ossa sacrata[4] pii portat sub culmina templi.
Tum volucres modulæ immiscent se nubibus altis,
Adspectusque hominum per tota tempora vitant.
Cantibus interea cineres conduntur in almis
Visceribus thecæ: gaudens sed spiritus alta
Jam super[5] astra manet, Dominum per sæcula laudans.

A portion of his relics heals a monk who was at death's door.

Translation of his relics.

CAP. IX.

De Fridugilso sacerdote Christi.

Alter erat frater, Fridegils cognomine dictus,
Presbyter atque Deo pura cum mente sacerdos
Munera mira parat: fumant altaria donis,

Fridegils the priest, a great benefactor of the house.

[1] Mab.; *Tingere*, Bod.
[2] *atque*, Mab.
[3] Mab.; *vectorem*, Bod.
[4] *sancta*, Mab.
[5] Mab.; *semper*, Bod.

Magnificisque virum exaltant super astra beatum
Hic doctrina simul factisque per omnia mirus,
Enituit magna meritorum gratia comtus.
Talibus aucta viris monachorum gaudia pollent,
Pastorisque boni vernantia vota virescunt.

Cap. X.

De fratre Cuicuino ferrario.

Cuicuin the smith; a very holy man.

Mirificis[1] fratrem liceat memorare loquelis,
Ferrea qui domitans potuit formare metalla,
Diversisque modis sapiens incude subactum
Malleus in ferrum peditat stridente camino.
Cuicuinus hic fuerat genitoris cura vocatus.
Hunc Deus in[2] vita meritorum gratia donat,
Atque suis clarum magno[3] redimivit honore.
Crimina cuncta pius casto de corpore pellit,
Viribus et totis Christi præcepta sategit
Corpore, mente, manu, et cunctis cum sensibus una
Nocte dieque simul servare; ad gaudia vera
Æstuat, atque suum quæstum conquirere palmis
Jam[4] cupidus, tribuit miseris, largitus egenis.
Quin totos semper perfert jejunia soles,
Sanctorum Domini veluti sollemnia tricent,
Nocturnas fratres sacris concentibus hymnos
Dum celebrant, rursusque suas visitare quietas
Incipiunt fratres, memoratus sæpta sacelli
Incoluitque, suis non parcit tundere membris
Marmora, seque Deo diligenter mandat ad astra.
Et rursus fratres veniunt cum lumine Phæbi,
Se precibus cupiunt Domino mandare profusis:
Cœtibus hic sanctis conjunctus dicere Psalmos
Dulce habuit, sese Domino commendat, et omnes.
Hinc matutinis completis quam bene Psalmis
Continuo insonuit percussis cudo metallis

[1] Mab.; *mitificis*, Bod.
[2] *hominem*, Mab.
[3] Mab.; *magnum*, Bod.
[4] Mab.; *Nam*, Bod.

Malleus, et vacuas volitans cum verberat auras.
Jam cœnam fratrum peditans caldoreos[1] ornat.
Talia dum sanctus quam multis gesserat annis, His death.
Tandem promeruit, cuncto cessante labore,
Ad requiem felix frater transire beatam.
Nam vires validi vexant dum corpore morbi,
Jam chorus e cælo veniens cum luce coruscus,
Pastoris cellam properat visitare beati,
Atque animam casto castam de corpore sumunt.
Splenduit hic nimium, superans jam lumina solis,
Cumque choro volitans superas penetravit in arces.
Aethuinus[a] hæc monachus dum cernit, dicere grates
Incipit, atque animam Domino commendat in astra.
Ergo ubi trans celsi conscendunt lumina solis,
Angelici cunei modulantes carmina, cælum
Clauditur extimplo! requiem captare perennem
Hinc anima ingreditur, castis immixta maniplis.

Æðwine the monk makes the recommendation of his soul.

Cap. XI.

De fratre qui de carne eductus iterum reviviscebat.

Frater erat quidam sanctæ sub regmine cellæ,
Ad sæculum illustris, dictus cognomine Merchdeof,
Tempore cui quodam languor dum corpora vexat,
Degrediens mundo passus componit in arvis[2]
Non notis; pavido fervent penetralia cordis,
Ac timor immensus quatiens vultusque minaces
Per tenebras animam terrebant agmine spisso,[3]
Diversisque modis agitabant turbida[4] flabra.

Story of Merchdof, a monk who had lived in the world.

He dies; in the other world he sees his young sons who had died in infancy, after baptism.

[1] Mab.; *culdarios*, pro *caldarius*, Bod.
[2] *oris*, Mab.
[3] *denso*, Bod. supr. lin.
[4] Mab.; om. Bod.

[a] This is perhaps Æða (Etha) the anchorite, whose death at Craik in 767 is mentioned by Symeon in the Historia Regum. The termination of many Saxon names was a variable element; thus we find the same person in the Chronicles named Ceola and Ceolric (a. 590); and beside Sæxa, Cutha, and Siga, we have Sæxwulf, Cuthwine, and Sig-wulf.

Cumque diu trepidus per tristes ire phalanges
Cogitur, en[1] subito nitidis quæ[2] vultibus olli
Apparuere viri, tenero quos corpore natos
Jam morbus quondam vitæ detrusit ab oris
Instantis, tinctos nuper, sed vita beata
Albis indutos gremium protraxit in altum.
His igitur visis, animo constantior esse
Cœperat, et lætus pariter comitatus eosdem,
Ibat ad iudicium, Prætor quod maximus omni
Egredienti animæ discernit sedibus altis.
Hunc genibus flexis rogitat pietate modesta,
Ut sibi non digno veniam donaret. At[3] ille
Sedibus e summis respondens talia fatur:
" Cum tu transgrediens postponas[4] verba maritæ,[5]
" Compactæque[6] fidem thalamos iterando[7] fugasses,
" Cur tibi nunc veniam, gelidæ sub tempore mortis,
" Hic tribui poscis, veniæ quo tempora non sunt?"
Ast pueri genibus flexis pietate vicissim
Ad veniam patris procerem vocitare parabant.
Ille sed immitis dominam visitare jubebat,
Judicioque suo veniam vel sumere pœnam.
Conjugis ast pueri, pavido comitante marito,
Jam trepidi nimium properant ad tecta[8] maritæ,
Candida quam[9] multum celsis ad sidera muris,
Montis in arce, piæ monstrant cænacula nuptæ.
Ingreditur genitor natis comitantibus albis,[10]
Corruit et mulier, notos dum cernit ocellos,[11]
Eque domu mandat pellacem vertere gressus.
In faciem sanctam ruitantes tempora nati,
Fletibus inmadidant; iram gemuere parentis;
Obsecrant, " Mater, nobis miserere, precamur,
" Conjunctique tui, meritis sine, crimina[12] solve."

They go with him before the Judge,

who reproaches him with his infidelity to his wife,

and bids him seek her and solicit pardon.

The wife orders him away, but mollified by her children's prayers, she questions him as to his broken faith.

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[1] *in*, Mab.
[2] Lege *qui*.
[3] Mab.; *ut*, Bod.
[4] *præponas*, Mab.
[5] Mab.; *moritæ*, Bod.
[6] *Non pactæque*, Mab.
[7] *thalamo servando*, Mab.
[8] *lecta*, Mab.
[9] Mab.; *quæ*, Bod.
[10] *altis*, Mab.
[11] *natos . . . ocellis*, Mab.; *æcellos*, Bod.
[12] *crimine*, Codd.

Sedibus e summis, radianti lumine vibrans,
Vestibus aurigeris in toto corpore plena,
Femina[1] corripiens despexit facta[2] mariti.
" Cur tu, stulte, fidem corruptus corpore, mente,
" Irrita vota gerens, copulam conjungere natis
" Ausus eras, thalamis maculans tua membra secundis,
" Fœdera cum manibus Domini per nomina summi
" Ante diem mortis firmando gessit uterque,
" Post mortem alterius maneat quod criminis expers?"
Obstruso tacuit non læti pectoris ore
Vir, pavidusque ruens confestim lingere terram
Incipit, et faciem perfundit fletibus omnem.
Illa sed ingeminans, connexum carceris umbras
Jussit adire virum, donec jam crimina cuncta
Flammis obsorptus nimium persolvit in atris.
Plantis at strati ruitabant pignora matris,
Perque Dei nomen, rogitant, " Miserere, precamur,
" Vel saltim liceat corpus visitare marito,
" Solvere[3] sicque sua mereatur crimina vivens."
Mentibus laxatis genetrix consentit, amata
Pignora quod patrem possint adducere corpus,
Cautius hincque suam monuit procernere vitam,
Ne rursum adveniens pro culpis præcipitetur
In tenebras, quo stridor erit fletusque perennis.
Hinc iterum adductus, natis comitantibus almis,
Pervenit ad corpus, cunctis mirantibus illum
Vivere post mortem: mortis sed versus ab oris
Vivere jam Christo sensu prædiscit acuto,
Et cautus monstrat cunctis se cernere vita
Pœnas horrificas, carnis si lingua taceret.
Cumque suis medicans frater cataplasma salutis
Vulneribus fecit, purgatus corpora linquit,
Atque suæ comtus sponsæ penetralia comtæ
Creditur ut lætus meruisset visere comta.

His humiliation.

She condemns him to the flames of purgatory, but at the entreaty of the children allows him to return to his body.

He lives a penitential life afterwards,

and makes a good death.

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[1] *Semina*, Mab.
[2] *fata*, Mab.
[3] Mab.; *Volvere*, Bod.

Cap. XII.

De obitu patris Eanmundi.

Eanmund dies; the monks bury him within the church.

Cumque diu cellam memoratus pastor haberet
Nobilis eloquio, et cunctis venerandus in actis,
Tempore tum plenus linquit consortia carnis,
Ingrediturque sui felix ad gaudia Christi.
Tum fraterna cohors venerandi membra parentis
Culmine sub templi digno posuere sepulcro,
Atque animam Domino immensis cum fletibus alto
Jam precibus fusis commendant rite[1] sacratis.

Cap. XIII.

De Eorpuino, successore Eanmundi, et fratre ejus Alduino.

Eorpwine is chosen abbot; he is a strenuous ruler and good manager.

Eorpuinus hunc sequitur commissi pastor ovilis,
Presbyter egregius, vitæ studiosus amator,
Sensibus et prudens, et cuncto strenuus actu
Divitias tribuit laxato mentis opimo
Jam gremio monachis,[2] quos lurida inedia pressit,
Inque modum mirum dispersæ ad præmia certa
Divitiæ crescunt: cumulat reverentia Christi
Munera sparsa sibi per cunctæ tempora vitæ.
Largus erat miseris, nimium sibi parcus in omni
Victu: namque escis pascebat corpora siccis:
Triverat hic soles, nullamque assumserat escam,
Jejunium referens volitanti lumine pectus.

Indulgent to others, but severe to himself.

Nec mirum excellens faciat si talia princeps,[3]
Dum majora boni paterent hi seque minores,
Atque dies multas certant jejunia Christo
Reddere, ne mentes fallax eluderet astu
Incautas hostis. Subitæ virtutis honore
Sæpius ipse fugit,[4] sacræ formidine plebis;

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[1] *membra*, Mab.
[2] Mab.; *monachos*, Bod.
[3] Mab.; deest hic versus in Bod.
[4] Mab.; *fuit*, Bod.

Bella nefanda sinunt, populo certante fideli;
Auxilium præstans Christus concertat ab arce,
Inde Deo lecti celsum rapuere triumphum,
Præcipitesque fugam nigræ sumpsere[1] phalanges.
Pastor ut iste pius complevit in ordine tempus,
Germano meruit condigno linquere sedem.
Aldwinus hic fuerat carnali nomine dictus.
Moribus hic verax et verbis omnibus exstat;
Signifer est clarus, subjectos vocibus hortans,
Ut sua vota pii trans æthera principes signent.

After him, his brother Aldwine succeeds.

Cap. XIV.

De abbate et sacerdote digno Sigbaldo.

Sigbald the fourth abbot; he built the chapel of the blessed Virgin, and much enriched the house.

Quartus adest pastor præclaro nomine Sigbald,
Presbyter; hic cellam multis donaribus auxit,
Atque Deo dignam studiosus condidit aulam.
Hæc est illa domus, quam Mater Numinis alti
Incolitans servat vasti sub culmine cæli.
Cui compacta nitet præpulcris mensa tabellis,
Porticus in medio, sancti quam fronde coronant,
Dum buxis claudunt pretiosæ munera vitæ.
Occidua nitidi splendent in parte ministri,
Qui modulis culmen cæli concentibus ornant.
Omnes ast sancti medii pavimenta sacelli,
Servantes colitant per tempora cuncta, maniplis
Innumeris jungunt, vocitati ad vota piorum,
Quos[2] meritis capiunt semper defendere sanctis,
Si vitæ ad palmam certant properare fideles.
Cetera per templum numeret quis lumina cuncta,
Quæ temploque polo rutilant per gaudia vera?
Presbyter iste Deo concessit plurima dona;
Aureus ille calix gemmis splendescit opertus,
Argentique nitens constat fabricatus in altis,[3]

Infra, cap. xx.

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[1] *sensere*, Mab.
[2] *Quod*, Mab.
[3] Mab; *allis*, Bod.

Quem dedit ille pius magnæ genitricis ad aulam.
Plumbea sarta tegunt casæ cum culmina summæ.
Nec minus ex cipro[a] sonitant ad gaudia fratrum
Ænea vasa, cavis crepitant quis pendula[1] sistris.

His zeal and devotion, especially on all the festivals of the blessed Virgin Mary.

Hoc templum ingrediens dum pura mente sacerdos
Jam missas celebrans Sigbald visitare parabat,
Fontibus e calidis salsæ decurrere guttæ
Incipiunt, Christi magnus quas excitat ardor
Pectore de puro; trepidant nec guttura cantu.[2]
Sanctam cumque diem sacravit, virgo Maria
Qua volitans cælos meruit penetrare per altos,
Vel qua præsenti generata redditur[3] orbi,
Vel qua præpulcræ susceptat gaudia vitæ,
Vel qua celsithronum meruit generare Tonantem,
Vel quacumque die, cum templi festa coruscant,
Omnibus his lætus nimium per gaudia sancta
Aurea dulcisonæ restaurat munera mentis:
Ac fratres precibus mulcet, sollemnia festa
Ad lætos celebrare piæ Genitricis honores.[4]
Presbyter hic doctus, dum longo tempore felix
Talia per cellam meruit jam facta novare,
Clausit iter sæcli, transductus ad atria vitæ.

Cap. XV.

De Siguuino abbate, fratre et successore Sigbaldi.

Sigwine, brother of Sigbald, is the next abbot: his charity to the poor.

Post quem germanus præmitis regmina cellæ
Sigwinus,[5] alterius, sumsit cognomine dictus.
Dapsilis hic nimium minimis magnisque per omnem
Exstiterat vitam; miseris largitur egenis;
Divitias tribuit, Dominus quas auxerat altus.

[1] Mab; *pisula*, Bod.
[2] Mab.; *cantura*, Bod.
[3] *reddidit*, Mab.
[4] Mab.; *honorem*, Bod.
[5] Mab.; *Sanguinus*, Bod.

[a] = *cupro*.

Viderat hunc quidam tetræ sub tempora noctis,
Vestibus insolitis indutum, tradere dona
Pauperibus miseris, nimium qui frigida membra
Exclusi portis calefacta illudere ponunt.
Cumque pius tribuit radiantis dona metalli,
Præcipit obsecrans summi per regna Tonantis,
Quatenus hæc nulli cunctæ per tempora vitæ
Dicant; ast miseri testantur dicere nunquam,
Ex quo præsentis maneat sub tempore vitæ.
Hoc cernens frater, tenebris cumulantibus arva
Delituit, fugiensque semel non talia putat
Esse semel, poterit quanquam jam cernere visus.
Cumque suis largus semper tribuisset amatis,
Divitiæ crescunt diversa in parte locorum,
Ac segetes spisso cumulantur germine cultæ:
Ac pecus omnigenum, pastoris munere[1] demtum,
In numero damnum gregibus desumere nescit.
Dum veneranda Dei sanctorum festa redirent
Classibus in geminis subter testudine templi
Fratribus immixtus Psalmorum concinat odas;
Dulcisona antiphonæ modulantur carmina fusæ.
Ast lector, melos voce articulata resultans,
Prædoctus biblis ad gaudia magna refundit.
Cumque die ducto missarum cantica complent,
Fratres concordi comitantur carmine patrem
Ad mensam; nullus poterit tum dicere digne
Quem studiose epulis cupiat sollemnia sancta,
Cum celebrare suis lætetur clerus in urbe,[a]
Atque domum quatitans clamoso carmine complent.

Multiplication of corn and flocks.

His delight in church music.

[1] Mab.; *muifice*, Bod.

[a] York,—if my theory that Craik is the cell intended be correct; see Introduction.

Cap. XVI.

De Hyglaco[1] presbytero atque lectore.

Under Sigwine flourished the lector Iglac, whom the writer has already celebrated in a poem on English saints.

Tempore quo lector præclarus gaudia digna
Accumulat patris, Hyglacus nomine dictus,
De quo jamdudum perstrinxi pauca relatu,
Anglorum de gente pios dum carmine quosdam
Jam cecini indoctus, vilisque per omnia scriptor,
Quæ si quis cupiat cum gnaro noscere corde,
Currat, et hæc sitiens se algosis mergat in undis,
Littera quo docti non docte carmina patris
Pompat[2] et aggreditur, poterit quod dicere digne.
Hos tantum versus præsens mihi chartula signat,
Quod mensam digitis Dominus circumdedit almam,
Inque caput sancti peditat benedictio larga,
Nec oculis cernens, cernit de pectore gnaro;
Spiritus atque pios, carnis fraudatus ocellis,
Necnon atque nigros mentis prospexit ocellis,
Hunc iterum manibus præcelsum cingere Regem
Viderat, atque animam fulgentem lumine solis,
Mentis in excessu, quidam confessor in Anglis.
Quæ si quis cupiat diligenter scire per orbem,
Prædictas quærens jam nunc se mergat in undas.[a]

Iglac had the gift of second sight.

Cap. XVII.

De fratribus cellæ, vel obitu pastoris.

Sigwine dies, and is buried near the cross set up by the prince.

Presbyteros monachos, fratrum reliquamque cohortem,
Quos me non dignum parvis concessit in annis
Omnipotens genitor per cellæ mœnia sanctæ
Cernere, quos miris commirans actibus ipse
Enituisse suo confirmo tempore certe;

---

[1] *Iglaco*, Mab. | [2] Mab.; *Compat*, Bod.

---

[a] That is, let him go to Lindisfarne, to reach which he must cross an arm of the sea.

Quos si, peccatis famulis, imitare negavit,
Vatis adhuc modulans tandem jam credo futurum
Illorum precibus, capiam quod dona salutis.
Tempore completo prædictus corpora pastor
Liquerat, et requiem meritis factisque paratam
Ingreditur; cuneus, nimia cumulante caterva,
Ad crucis excelsæ, princeps quam condidit ipse,
Apponunt signum sacratæ membra quieti.

Cap. XVIII.

De Wlsigo sacerdote et abbate.

Wulsig the priest succeeds. His humility and piety. The author lived with him in his boyhood. His abstemiousness; and early death.

Presbyter huic functo, dictus cognomine Uulfsi,
Cogitur ecclesiæ precibus pia regere castra.
Abnuit in primis mæstus humilisque sacerdos,
Se fore non dignum contestans pondera tanta
Sumere: sed fratrum precibus se vincere tandem
Gaudet, et ecclesiæ gaudentis regmina sumsit.
Vir fuit hic humilis verbis, factisque modestus,
Sæpius in precibus Domino pia membra tetendit.
Huic ego, dum primum præsentis mœnia cellæ
Jam puer ingrediens visitando, semper adhæsi,
Unius atque domus requiem captavimus ambo,
Bis terno annorum donec jam tempore fluxo,
Pastor ovile bonus sumsit pietate modesta.
Noctibus in furvis, fratrum pausante caterva,
Hymnos ac psalmos crebris concentibus odat,
Tempore quo Phœbus cælum perlabitur imum.
Moribus hic solitis vigilans, e pectore casto
Psalterium cantans percurrit in ordine totum:
Sicque die rursum, Psalmos complevit eosdem,
Ut vicibus geminis lyricas consumeret escas,
Hinc iterum surgens, horam dum prædicat ales
Gutture de rubro, solitis complebat in hymnis.
Cumque die media fratres jam quærere pastum

Incipiunt, escæ parcus se subtrahit omni,
Ac genibus flexis tundit pavimenta sacelli.
Ac bene præcomtus divinis cantibus aris,[1]
Offert qui mundum solvit de morte maligna.
Jamque diem nullum voluit dimittere, præter
Munere quo sese assistens non ornet opimo.
Cumque epulas[2] cupiens monuit conquirere corpus,
Cum mensura cibi totum quod sufficit ambit,
Plus justo quicquam contemnens sumere victus.
His formata bonis monachorum gaudia crescunt,
Seque sui cupiunt votis cumulare parentis.
Talia dum paucis perfectus, pro dolor! annis
Pastor patrabat, vitam perductus ad almam
Corpora deseruit, nitidis comitatus ut[3] ipse
Alitibus testatus erat, pia castra beorum
Ingreditur felix, lætatus sorte superna.

Cap. XIX.

De Wynfrido presbytero.

Wynfrid the priest is appointed by Wulsig vestiarius.

Huic frater quidam subjectus, corpore, mente
Mirificus servit, dictus qui nomine Wynfrid:
Presbyter enituit præclaris actibus almus.
Hunc pater ex toto complectens pectore fidum
Credidit, et fratrum præfecit vestibus illum.
Isque Deo deditus, cum tota mente fidelis
Officium servat rigido munimine fultus.
Nec si terrestris dispenset pondera curæ,
Grandia dona ferens cessabat reddere Christo.
Ast moriens Domino præsens cum linquere sæclum
Cogitur, e mundo frater sua corda sequestrat:
Atque Deo soli cupiens se subdere felix,
Ecclesiæ membris supplex pavimenta tutundit,

---

[1] *Iris*, Mab.
[2] *epula*, Mab.
[3] *ubi*, Mab.

Nocte dieque simul precibus commendat ad astra,
Seque, suique animam Domino genitoris amati.
Tempore qui longo gessit dum talia frater,
Clausit iter sæcli,[1] non claudens gaudia vitæ,
Optatam sumsit semper sine fine quietem.

Cap. XX.

De donis patrum et monachorum votis.

Hanc cellam Dominus fratrum decoravit honore,
Maxima de cælis capiant nunc gaudia cuncti,
Atque Deo studeant condignam condere laudem.
Quod sine nos meritis tribuit non hostibus umquam
Imperio procerum sæcli,[2] nec subdidit imos.
Sint Domino grates semper sine fine superno,
Illius auxilio nobis quod lucere tales
Jam proceres meruere pii, justique benigni;
Optima siderei spargebant semina doni
Cordibus in fratrum; segetes per limina cellæ
Quam læte surgunt superi dulcedine roris.
Jam campus ridet, florent ad gaudia Christi
Per cellam monachi; lætatur clerus in urbe,
Quem lex una tenet gaudenti in corde voluntas.
Jungit ad astra fides numeros, turmasque frequentes
Congregat, atque Deo solitis se mandat in horis.
Cum nox fusca venit, cum abscondent sidera lucem
E stratis properant sonitatum adcurrere signum,
Et reciproca suo modulantur carmina Regi,
Psalmis atque hymnis laudantes rite Tonantem,
Cantibus in crebris comunt et voce sacellum,
Quod Deus et proceres servantes mœnia cellæ
Muneribus multisque bonis[3] ornare parabant.
Hæc est illa domus, porrectis edita muris,

A time of prosperity; gifts and benefactions flow in from all sides; the church richly adorned.

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1 *Hausit iter cælum,* Mab.
2 Mab.; *sedi,* Bod.
3 Mab.; deest in Bod.

Quam sol per vitreas[1] illustrans candidus oras
Limpida prænitido diffundit lumina templo.
Plurima cum sancti sunt ornamenta delubri,
Hic tamen hæc paucis liceat memorare canendo;
Ut cælum rutilat stellis fulgentibus omne,
Sic tremulas vibrant subter testudine templi
Ordinibus variis funalia pendula flammas.
Mentibus hæc placidis quædam cum tempore prisco
Attribuere Deo quondam, proceresque moderni
Jam superaucta piis curabant reddere donis.
  Jam plures multi cupiebant pendere caucos,
Limpida qui tribuant quadrato lumina templo.
Ast alii rutilo condunt vexilla metallo,
Quæ veneranda pii promunt miracula Christi,
Qui crucis in ligno mundum de morte redemit.
Quidam præcipiunt sacratos scribere libros,
Qui præcelsa Dei monstrant jam dicta Tonantis,
Qui sonitans mundum dudum præfuderat omnem.
Atque hos conspicui prævelat ductilis auri
Lamina, sic sancti comunt altaria templi.
Ast quidam Dominæ mensam quæ nobilis ortu
Gemmarum flammis et fulvo vestit in auro,
Argenti has nitidæ distinguunt rite tabellæ
Impressas digitis poteris quis cernere formas,
Sanctorum splendent animæ cum sedibus altis.
  Hic tamen hæc placuit rerum commenta novare;
Mirificis sunt facta modis quæ laudibus ornet
Versificus, poterit qui digne hæc dicere doctus.
Aureus ille calix, tetigi quem carmine dudum,
Ac lata argento pulcre fabricata patena,
Cælatas faciem prætendunt apte figuras.
Talia dum sanctæ cumulant penetralia casæ
Munera, quæ nostræ servant medicamina vitæ,
Jure sacer fratrum cuneus per mœnia cellæ
Gaudet, et æternis donantem laudibus ornat.

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[1] *purpureas*, Mab.

Cap. XXI.

De canticis spiritualibus in apostolorum oratorio auditis.

Te quoque sancta domus, cecini quam carmine quodam,
Quæ sacrata Deo fulges sub nomine Petri,
Nunc iterum liceat paucis memorare beatam
Versibus. Hanc dudum nigræ sub tempora noctis
Moribus ex solitis post hymnos visere certant
Fratres, atque suæ complent sollemnia mentis.
Ocius inde suos cupiunt adcurrere lectos.
Ast ego post omnes conclusis postibus aulam
Deseruique alium fratrem comitatus adivi,
Qui tum forte foras spectando sidera cernit.
Ecce repente venit miris cum cantibus agmen
Immensum, Domino modulans quod[1] carmina ructat,
Præmiroque locum cinerum jam lumine complet,
Intrant siderea candentem luce delubrum
Spiritus, ac geminis distincti classibus hymnos
Tales concinnunt: quatitans ad culmina cantus
Adscendit cæli, insonuit laquearibus altis.
Et si non structura[2] tamen meritis micat almis,
Ad celsos montes, superant qui sidera cæli,
Auxilium sperans noster se vertit ocellus,[3]
Auxilium, credo, a Domino, qui fecerat auctor
Omnia quæ cæli, quæ terræ et flumina cingunt.
Hæc cum dicta diu geminis in classibus aulæ
Culmine sub sancti sonuerunt postibus, ipse
Atque alius frater pariter properamus uterque,
Auribus atque oculis mirandum noscere visum.

In the church of St. Peter tho author sees a band of angels divided in two choirs singing the office.

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[1] *pia*, Mab.
[2] *structam*, Mab.
[3] *deest hic versus* in Mab.

Continuoque polum cantus cum lumina pulsat.
Ulterius nobis licuit nec talia visu
Cernere, quin trepidi cupimus visitare quietem.
Nec semel astrigeris sonuerunt agmina dictis.
Quin potius cuneus mira cum luce coruscans
Vocibus aurigeris cineres vitare sategit
Sæpius in tetræ noctis cum tempore strata
Mansissent fratres, constat quod munere Christi
Patratum Sanctis, cujus jam gratia semper
Omnibus in terris secundo lumine flagrat.

Cap. XXII.

Somnium quod vidit die Dominica.

The author has a dream; one clad in white leads him to a broad flowery plain,

Tempus erat noctis, lucem cum prædicat ales,
Algida post hymnos laxassem membra quieti,
Furtivus adveniens somnus subrepsit ocellis.
Candidus en subito videbatur ductor adesse.
Hunc ego perpavidus nitidis jam vestibus album,
Vultibus ac pulcris radiantem, gressibus ultro
Callibus ignotis peditans comitatus adivi.
Campus erat latus, pulcris qui floribus offert
Olfactum dulcem miranda ad gaudia cunctis,
Qui meritis digni possunt hæc cernere visu.
Namque rosæ rutilant per totum & lilia fragrant,
Permultique olerum flores, quos dicere certe
Mens indocta fugit, talis jam germinis expers.
Cumque viam pariter currentes carpsimus ambo,

and into a church in a fair city.

Candentem subito nimium conspeximus urbem;
Rorifluas muri cernuntur lambere nubes;
Ostia laxato patuerunt cardine clausa.
Candidus interius, pavido comitante ministro,
Ingreditur ductor: patuerunt sæpta sacelli,
Quæ crucis in speciem pulcre fabricata manebant
Ast domus interior nimio candore coruscans,
Namque rotunda suis formabat mœnia saxis.

Sed domus exterius magnis minimisque per omne
Porticibus spatium muri subfulta manebat.
E quibus inde plagas[1] bis binæ quatuor orbis,
Adspiciunt sursum spatiantes edita muri:
Inter quas modicæ variantur in ordine cellæ;
Frontibus hæ nitidis cingentes undique templum,
Marmore præmiram monstrant spectantibus aulam.
Ast pavimenta domus, medii sub culmine templi,
Aurea mirificæ portabant munera mensæ.
Crux veneranda nitens præcelso stipite surgit
Vertice de mensæ, nimium candente smaragdo.
Aurea cum gemmis flavescit lamina fulvis.
Talia dum cernens stupido de corde rimarem,
Ecce repente meus ductor me liquerat, atque — His guide disappears;
Degrediens templo vacuis se condidit auris.
Ast ego prætrepidus faciem cum pronior arvis
Inserui, rogitans Christum, "Miserere, precamur,
Hostibus adversis pavidum servare memento;"
Hinc oculos vertens, partem qua dextera monstrat,
Aurigeris solium splendescere rite tabellis, — he sees an old man who tells him that he is Eadfrid his old master,
Quo senior quidam venerandus membra locabat.
Ante suam faciem, fulvis redimita coronis,
Ara dicata Deo mittebat munera summa,
Quæ crucis excelsæ porrexit vertice signum.
Hæc rutilo ex auro gemmisque nitescit opimis;
Ex oriente micans de bysso culmina tumbæ[2]
Vestis contexit, cujus quæ nescio Sancti
Membra dicata sui tenuit sub viscere ventris.
  Talibus hunc rogitans studebam quærere dictis:
"Dic, qua parte manet quondam meus ille magister
"Higlac?" Confestim respondens talia fatur;
"Sedibus e summis oculos conferre memento:"
Intereaque,[3] videns plaustrum quo labitur axem,

[1] *flagras*, Bod.; *in plagis*, C.
[2] *turbæ*, Codd.
[3] C.; *interiora*, Bod.

Hæc cum detinuit conversis vultibus anguem,
Adspiciens faciem dudum de Hibernia notam
Noscere promerui; carnali a nomine dictus
Eadfridus[1] ille fuit, primis mihi doctor in annis.
Presbyter exstiterat, capiti qui pronior orans
Incurvus tumbam[2] Cutberti, corpore, mente
Officio venerare pio sic cernitur almam.
Ad cujus dorsum nitido radiante metallo
Sederat in scamno doctor lectorque beatus
Higlac, indutus nimium qui vestibus albis
Fulserat; hic manibus memet benedixit opimis.
Eadfridus hinc gradiens per vasti mœnia templi,
Porticibus magnis minimis induxit apertis.
Omnibus his rutilo capitellis undique cinctum
Thuribulum pendet fabricatum cominus auro,
De quibus altithrono spirabant thura Tonanti;
Cerea, flammigeris venerans altaria donis,
Porticibus cunctis ardebat lumine claro.

a devoted servant of St Cuthbert.

Eadfrid conducts him over the vast and splendid church.

Occiduas tandem partes properamus euntes.
Porticus illa nitens magno splendebat honore;
Hac rutilans auro flammescit gratia mira
Ara sacrata, Deo mittit quæ munera summo:
Sapphirus hic solium, beriloque adnexus in ante,
Fecerat eximium, dominus cui insederat almus
Wlfsig, quem prisci cupiunt vocitare parentes.
Hunc ego cognoscens præmiro lumine clarum,
Intremui gaudens; subito quin pronior almo
Ille, levata manu, dictis sacravit euntem.

Hinc ego me sensim, prisco comitante magistro,
Converti ad culmen cellæ quæ respicit Arcton,
Plurima qua miris micuerunt vascula gemmis.
Ast alia ex auro variato lumine vibrant,
Ornatuque suo mundi superare metalla
Omnia jam poterant, pretioso germine facta.

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[1] *Godfridus*, C. | [2] *turbam*, Bod.

Hæc inter dapibus diversis mensa refecta
Omnigenisque epulis escarum munera profert.
Sumserat hinc calicem vitrei de vena metalli,
Hauserat et manibus venerandi dona liquoris,
Sacrificansque piis precibus potumque ministrat.
Ast ubi perceperam mirandi vina saporis,
In cælos Domino laudes gratesque rependi.
Presbyter interea venerandus talia dixit;
" Hæc domus est meritis animarum condita sanctis,
" Quas Deus omnipotens istic pietate locabat;
" Esuriem pœnasque situm per sæcula nullus
" Sentiet, in Domino sumunt sed gaudia longa,
" Laudantes Dominum cæli per sæcula cuncta,
" Qui requiem lectis tribuet sine fine beatam."
His dictis vigilans, visum jam scribere cœpi.

Cap, XXIII.

Salutatio et precatio vatis ad Sanctos et ad Dominum.

Hæc Lupus, alte pater, stolido de pectore Clarus[a] In the Epilogue the author invokes the aid of the saints,
Carmina composuit, corpore, mente, rogans,
Quatinus indigno Sancti sua munera præstent,
Et poscant veniam cum pavido precibus.
Omnipotens meritis semper quos augeat istic,
Ut puram capiant corpore, mente, fidem;
Hic locus ut Christo semper memorabilis almo
Exsistat meritis, accumulent monachi.
Sit Deus omnipotens per sæcula cuncta beatis
Salvator mitis, dum meliora velint.
Cum quibus hæc cantans, cupiens sua miscere vota,
Non cessat, famulans quandoque non vitiis.

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[a] Lupus Clarus = Æðel-wulf.

and begs the bishop to be lenient to him.

Tu, pater, hæc recitans nostros non sperne labores,
  Quin magis hæc cernens gaudia digna tene.
Quod tuo tam clari meruerunt sanguine patris
  Esse, Deo grates reddere te moneo.
Me quoque nunc precibus Domino mandare profusis
  Jam dignare, precor, corpore, corde rogans;
Quatinus hic trepido dimittat crimina vati
  Omnipotens Genitor, nec pietate vacet.
Cui decus, imperium, virtus, sapientia perpes,
  Laus et honor semper permaneat, vigeat.
Te, pater, omnitenens servet per sæcula mitis,
  Inferni vinclis verberibusque privans.

Explicit liber Adilvulfi Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ monachi, de abbatibus et miraculis ejusdem ecclesiæ.[a]

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[a] This explicit is not in the Bodleian MS.

II.

VITA BARTHOLOMÆI FARNENSIS.

Incipit liber Vitæ Bartholomæi, monachi et Farnensis anachoritæ.[a]

Beatissimis in Christo patribus et dominis Bertramo priori et cœnobitis Dunelmensibus, Galfridus, minimus eorum in Domino conservus. "Sic transire per bona "temporalia, ut non amittantur æterna." (To the prior and monks of Durham.)

§ 2. Post transitum venerandi patris Bartholomæi animos vestros pulsasse non ambigo, utrum aliquid insigne sæculo post se reliquerit, quod in laudem Creatoris debeat attolli et in imitationem morum possit assumi. Apud plerosque etenim magnæ opinionis habebatur, sed longe superior fuit intentio mentis qua Deo soli placere studebat, quam facies operis qua foris hominibus laudabilis apparebat. Totus quippe vitæ ejus excursus erat cum mundi principe conflictus. Cujus ego quædam virtutum opera sedulus dare curavi, credens quod si contemptibilis auctor fuerit, ea tamen non debere contempni. Satius etiam esse (The writer has deemed it a duty to write the life of the anchorite Bartholomew,)

[a] This life of Bartholomew, the anchorite of Farne in the twelfth century, written by Geoffrey, a Durham monk, has been printed by the Bollandists (Acta Sanctorum, June 24), but from an imperfect MS., which they obtained from Citeaux. The initial letter only of the writer's name is found in the Citeaux MS., and the narrative is much curtailed at the end.

Bartholomew was a contemporary of prior German (§ 6), who died in 1189, after having governed the monastery twenty-six years. We may therefore assume him to have been born about 1120. Bertram, the first prior of the name, to whom the Life is dedicated, died in 1212.

The text is from Fairfax 6 in the Bodleian, a MS. of the fourteenth century. See Introduction.

while the facts are still fresh in the memory of those who knew him.

censui ad omnium notitiam, extantibus adhuc qui eum viderunt sive noverunt, deducere, qui et sua falsa comprimant et vera comprobent arbitrio, quam ipsis de medio sublatis dubiam posteris de tanto viro relinquere æstimationem, cum superesse non potuerit qui experimento vel visus vel auditus debitam faciat fidem. Memini vero me hoc opusculum tibi, reverende pater et domine, et nonnullis ex vobis porrexisse, et ea quæ amovenda judicastis amovi, et quæ apponenda apposui. Quod etiam universitatis vestræ judicio reservavi, quatinus libellus, si quid erroris aut nimietatis habet, per vos correctus, vel, si quid minus justa moderatione, per vos extentus, totus purus totusque securus ad communes hominum prodire non erubescat aspectus. Sed dum hujus venerabilis viri vitam calamus percurrit, vereor me illorum reprehensione dignum, quorum vitæ sanctorum in libellulis pendent a collo vel portantur in manibus, et nihil pendet vel præfertur in moribus. Rudi igitur stilo et ordeicio [a] sermoni veniam quæso detis, in quo non Tullianum requiro leporem, sed simplicem simpliciter indagare cupio veritatem. Ea quæ fidelium et maxime successoris sui relatione cognovi, ne vos prolixa verborum oratione onerare videar, succincta brevitate transcurro, et juxta cujusdam sapientis eloquium, non prandium vobis sed cœnam facio.

Bartholomew was born at Whitby

§ 3. Igitur Bartholomæus ex provincia Qwyteby extitit oriundus. Hic primo a parentibus Tostius dictus est, cujus nominis etymologiam sociis ejus adolescentulis irridentibus, Willelmum dixerunt. Cum vero monasterium petiit, felici præsagio celebre quo nunc vocatur nomen a fratribus impositum est, quatinus ejus in cælo fieret cohæres gaudii, cujus in terra consortium sortitus est vocabuli. Quia vero non pri-

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[a] That is, *hordeicio*, for *hordeaceo*, in the sense of "second-rate," "inferior."

mum quod spirituale est, sed quod carnale, cunctis adolescentiæ suæ temporibus levitatis legibus animum dedit, et de se sibi prodigus in otia se totum et scurrilitatis negotium effudit. Sed præveniente eum in benedictionibus suis Domino, talis ei de sua vocatione cælitus ostensa est visio. Putabat se in loco admirandæ viriditatis et amœnitatis constitui, lumenque in eo quasi nubis candidæ vel auroræ surgentis intueri. Cumque supernæ claritati aciem intenderet, vidit Dominum Jesum eminus stantem, sanctamque matrem ejus Mariam, Petrum quoque apostolum, et Johannem evangelistam. Quem beata Virgo pulcherrimo vultu intuita, apostolos advocat, "Ite," inquiens, "et astan-"tem Filio meo et mihi assistite." Protensaque manu ostendens ipsum quoque nutu vocare visa est. Accedentes unus a dextris et alius a sinistris reverenter in medio deduxerunt. Eisque passu tardiore moram protrahentibus, hortatur illa maturius procedere, et adolescentem adhibere. Adductus vero stabat, stupens et tremens, claritate magis perterritus quam tremore. Ad quem misericordiæ misericors mater, "Accede," ait, "et Filii mei vestigia amplectere, et, ut tui misereatur, "ejus pietatis bonitatem humiliter deposce." Statimque eo in faciem prostrato, et clamante jam tertio "Miserere mei, Domine Jesu," elevans ille misericordiæ manum benedixit eum, dulcem satis ac suavem adjiciens vocem, "Et ego tui misereor, et in æternum misere-"bor." Hoc quoque secundo in somnis videre promeruit, et ne fantasticæ illusioni id quisquam incredulus deputaret, tertio vigilans et carnalibus oculis manifeste conspexit. Cujus hæc cor saxeum calore virtutis non emollirent, et contempto cum pompa sæculo ad promissa cœlestia quærenda ac promerenda non accenderent? Nec tamen his Bartholomæus ad conversionis amorem compunctus est. Jam tunc enim caro, tanquam prudentior et ætate major, concupiscere noverat adversus spiritum, et spiritus, adolescentiæ voluptate

His youth was riotous and worldly.

He had a vision,

which was twice repeated.

depressus, obluctari non poterat adversus carnem, ac si ei diceret cum Evangelista, "Mulier, nondum venit "hora mea." Johan. ii. 4.

He goes into foreign countries.

§ 4. Adolescens itaque, diversarum gentium patriam et mores affectans inquirere, vagus et instabilis ad loca de locis aura ferebatur levitatis, fastidiosus novitatum amator, adeo facilis contemptor ut conspector. In Norvegiam demum evectus cuidam presbytero adhæsit, et ibidem ab episcopo ejusdem loci diaconatus, deinde presbyteratus gradum accepit. Quadam autem die se juvenis quidam ei in itinere junxit. Qui malignum spiritum adesse conspiciens, quem provinciæ illius incolæ Kambeyn vocant, alludens ait: "Ecce ille." Cui Bartholomæus, "Amice, vellem eum videre." Jubet ergo eum supra pedes ipsius stare, et pedibus suis terram non contingere, pollicens, quod suis artibus optatæ visionis desiderio suo satisfaceret effectu, quemque semel intuitus fuisset, perpetuo videre non cessaret. Quo audito Bartholomæus irrisit hominem, societatem contempsit, nefariam abominatus est visionem. Fidem namque Christianam, sicut postea referebat, læderet, si contemplationi diabolicæ jugiter inhæreret.

In Norway he is ordained.

Dealing with the devil.

A Norwegian wishes to marry him to his daughter; he refuses.

§ 5. Eodem tempore quidam Bartholomæum ad filiæ suæ conjugium petebat. Parentum indies indefessa sudabat exactio; puellæ quoque species et consensus ad nuptias invitabat. Trahebatur denique ipse a se. Ad carnalis autem copulæ sollicitudinem devolvi non est concessum, quem ad spiritualis tirocinii agonem divina protectio servabat illæsum. Transactis ibi tribus annis patriam rediit, et in quadam Northumbrensium ecclesia presbyteratus officium aliquot diebus exercuit.

and after three years returns to England.

§ 6. Quia igitur divina providentia in sua dispositione non fallitur, irruente in cor venerabilis viri unctione Spiritus Sancti, visionem quam dudum adolescens viderat ante mentis oculos revocat, cœpitque,

His fervour revives

juxta sententiam apostolicam, quæ retro sunt oblivisci et in anteriora sese extendere. Adeo Spiritus fervens erat impetus, quod statim sæculum deserere et ad monasterium deliberaret confugere. Cujus sanctæ conversationis primordia dignata est suo munere superna largitas illustrare. Susceptus namque, rasus, tonsus, et, prout Dunelmensis cœnobii consuetudo deposcit, cum sociis in ecclesia introductus, cum crucem adoraret, vidit in spiritu crucis imaginem submisso vultu adorantem resalutare et protensis brachiis novum se crucis bajulum in amplexus excipere. Quod postea Dominus executione virtutis complevit, quia eum inter temptamenta velut murus inexpugnabilis firmiter tenuit, nec in aliquo dæmoniaci impetus conflictu deseruit. Hanc ipsam quam narro virtutem, referente bonæ memoriæ Germano priore, qui suscepti sacri habitus comes extitit, quam plures noverunt. Cujus ita verum esse nemo dubitet testimonium, sicut meritis venerabilis viri id potuisse contingere non est ambigendum.

and he becomes a monk at Durham.

What happened at his admission.

§ 7. Cum monachis habitans, monachi mores et vitam æmulari studuit, et ea maxime quæ monacho proficiunt, verum etiam monachum faciunt, humilitatem et obedientiam excoluit. In officiis divinis illud prophetæ semper recogitabat eloquium, "Maledictus omnis "qui opus Dei facit negligenter." Sed et infirmioribus, qui id propter sui corporis aut vocis imbecillitatem facere non poterant, adjutorium satagebat impendere, affirmans hoc esse pro fratribus animam ponere. Locum præterea solitudinis affectabat, ubi secretius Domino militare et parcius vivere potuisset. Desiderium quoque animæ ejus tribuit ei Deus, et voluntate labiorum ejus non fraudavit eum. Beatus enim pater Cuthbertus ei per visum apparuit, et ad insulam Farnensem perducens, situm loci, decorem oratorii, qualiter singula quæque se haberent ostendit, dixitque, "Ecce locum istum a Deo tibi præparatum "scias, siquidem in eo usque in finem conversari te

His humility and obedience.

Jerem. lviii. 10.

Ps. 20.

St. Cuthbert shows him Farne in a vision.

"spondeas." Quod ille modis omnibus se asserebat velle, et gratias egit pro sua manifestatione. Mane autem facto a fratribus quæ Farnensis esset insula perquisivit, et ita omnia esse didicit, sicut per beatum antistitem in somnis accepit.

He communicates his desire for a solitary life to prior Lawrence,

§ 8. Talium signorum indiciis ad solitariæ conversationis propositum animatus est. Nec scintillam divini fervoris quam in secreto cordis gerebat diutius inclusam tenere valebat, quia perfectus Spiritus ad perfectos urgebat progressus. Reverendumque patrem Laurentium priorem[a] adiit, et quid interius haberet exposuit. Quo ille audito laudabat quidem petentis affectum, sed tamen ab his desistere monuit, eo quod nondum unius anni plantatio fuisset, nec in radicem stabilitatis, ut putabat, animum fixisset. Vicit tamen constantia pulsantis. Noluit enim idem pater spiritum extinguere, sed pensabat subtilius discretionis examine, non esse reprimendum a mortali homine quod interius operatur gratia inspirationis divinæ. Venit igitur vir venerabilis ad insulam Farnæ, comitante se Deo et devota fratrum oratione. Invenitque ibi fratrem Elwynum, qui, ut ejus desiderium agnovit, invidit et adventum moleste tulit. Cœpitque antiquus hostis per eum temptando Christi militem aggredi, suggerens in ipsum plurima congerere, quibus vel iram incuteret, vel a loco penitus ejiceret. At ille fraternas patienter contumelias excepit, sed innocentiam Abel malitia Chaym non dejecit. Ad exemplum enim beati Job in omnibus non peccavit labiis suis, videlicet stultum quid contra fratrem suum locutus est.

and having gained his consent goes to Farne, A.D. 1150,

where he finds another anchorite, Elwyn,

who is displeased at his coming.

Elwyn departs from Farne.

§ 9. Cum igitur conspiceret Elwinus quod non proficeret, recessit, et Bartholomæus exinde secum habitare cœpit. Quinque annis cilicio usus est; lectus ejus durus,

[a] Prior Lawrence died in 1154, having governed the monastery five years.

cruciatui magis quam quieti accommodus, brevem aut rarum accubanti somnum dedit. Stramentis enim suppositis, crucem virgeam, quatuor eam ex quatuor partibus ligneolis sustentantibus, linteoque stamineo [a] in longum et latum extento, desuper stravit, quibus coopertorium monachale decenter superposuit, cujus obumbrationis lecti similitudinem ostenderet aspectus, et asperitatis secretum occultaret amictus. Superveniente vero felicis recordationis Thoma priore,[b] lectum mutavit, cilicium deposuit, ne sudor et fætor qui ex eo exibant cohabitantem offenderet, aut etiam hanc in eo continentiæ virtutem novus hospes deprehenderet, laudabilem proferens de religione sententiam, Non in veste scilicet sed in corde monachi omnem vigere consummationem mandatorum Dei. Lectum post hæc quo pausaret non habebat. Et quidem primis militiæ suæ temporibus tanta discretione temperavit cursum vitæ, qua nihil quod ageret fastidii tepiditatem ingereret. Sive enim scribebat, sive legebat, sive psallebat, sive secretius orabat, sive insulam, psalmodiæ et vigiliarum longitudinem allevians, circuibat, a se corporis [1] desidiam cujuscumque posset operis aut laboris manu propellebat. Jamque apud ipsum perfectus [2] erat vanæ gloriæ contemptus. Cibus ejus panis et olera, et quæ de pinguedine lactis exprimi solent. Piscationem exercuit, tam ad sui quam commorantium sustentationem. Ad approbandam vero sive corroborandam rudis adhuc anachoritæ parcimoniam, ad ministrandum ei Dominus mootam deputavit, quæ singulis diebus Quadragesimæ primi anni pisciculum,

Austerities practised by Bartholomew.

His food.

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[1] *torporis*, Harl. 4843.

[2] Harl. 4843; *profectus*, Fx.

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[a] *linteum stamineum* seems to mean what we should call "a piece "of sacking."

[b] Prior Thomas I. died in 1162, after a term of six or seven years. His retirement to Farne is mentioned by Geoffrey of Coldingham (*Hist. Dun. Script. Tres.*, p. 8; Surtees Society, 1839).

qui vulgo lumpa dicitur, loco statuto ad refectionem detulit. Quod si ad horam consuetam nihil aliquando reperisset, protelabat jejunium, donec famula sua consuetam annonam attulisset. Post aliquot annos a piscibus quoque abstinuit. Potus ejus aqua fuit, raro vero lac. Esus carnium, ex quo insulam intravit, non tetigit, nec aliquo lætiore humore se profudit. Denique septem annis et dimidio ante excessum suum e corpore, nihil perhibetur omnino bibisse. O virum permirabilem! cui, si in cæteris, similem in hoc invenire non credimus æqualem. Nullo tempore caputium sive aliquid munimen capiti, nec pellicium adhibuit corpori, his tantum indumentis contentus quæ monachum decent, stamina scilicet et cuculla, quæ dicitur fuisse manicata. Ad ea quoque contegenda pallium nigrum ejusdem coloris pellibus intromunitum superinduxit; quandoque, pelle sua circumdatus, antiquorum patrum spectantibus formam exhibuit. Caligis ex pellibus arietinis corticatis utebatur, quas cum tibiis semel circumdedit, donec vetustate consumerentur non amovit. Nec staminam lavari permisit, donec nigredo quam ex nimio sudore contraxit eam perfudisset. Si quis autem super hoc eum argueret, respondisse fertur quia, "Omnia "turpia his corporibus inferre debemus, si ea ad per-"fectum animæ candorem perducere volumus."

Rigour of his abstinence.

His dress.

§ 10. Erat fortis et integer viribus, et quæ vel animo vel corpori ingerebantur invictissimus. Sed et faciem ita semper hilarem adeoque ruboris gratia perfusam prætendebat, quod, cum summæ abstinentiæ parcitatem sectaretur, et curam corporis negligeret, eum quisque deliciis uti corporalibus æstimaret. Psalmos Davidicos in laudem Filii David semper in ore super mel et favum dulces habuit, quos nocte et die semel aut bis, tertio nonnunquam, psallendo transigere minimum duxit. In verbis ejus plurima consolatio, quæ doctrinæ spiritualis sale condita nihil præter contemptum temporalium et amorem resonabant æternorum. Jocundus etiam in

His strength, endurance, and habitual cheerfulness.

His prayer.

sermone, tristitiam habebat pro crimine. Divitum, quorum ad ipsum feritatis fama pervenerat, arguere solebat arrogantiam, nec sine metu quandoque apparebant. Tantum enim reverentiæ gerebat in vultu, adeoque venerabilis erat aspectu; nonnulli eorum ejus exhortationibus a læsione pauperum desistere, a munere illicito manus excutere, eleemosynis peccata studebant redimere. Circa pauperes et ægrotos pia gerebat viscera, suadens eis in patientia vitam possidere. In confessionibus vero misericordiam et judicium cantabat Domino, peccatorum persecutor, personarum non acceptor. Si frater in fratrem committeret, non Petri[1] usque ad septies parcitatem, sed Domini usque septuagesies septies sequi commonebat latitudinem. Apud homines enim remissionis terminus, apud Domini vero misericordiæ non est numerus.

He rebukes the oppressors of the poor.

Matt. xviii. 21.

§ 11. Optimum quoque monachis exemplum descripsit voluntariæ paupertatis, "Quid," inquiens, "nobis "amplius habent potentes hujus sæculi? Habentes "victum et vestitum, his contenti sumus. Illi si id "habent eo contenti non sunt, sed abundantius habere "volunt, et adest mox peccatum in desiderio, in labore "adquisitio, in timore possessio, in dolore amissio. Nos "vero nobiles, nos vere divites, qui ab horum liberi "sollicitudine securi vivimus, et ea quæ Dominus de"derit cum gratiarum actione percipimus." Dicebat quoque omnem potestatem a Deo esse, et ideo bonam esse, si tamen sui juris metas superbiendo non excesserit; et paupertatem optimam et Deo proximam, si suæ humilitatis angustiis sine murmuratione contenta sit. Utrique vero vitandam esse jactantiam. Neque sola in eum admonitionis et consolationis, verum etiam innumera Deus contulit gratiarum munera. Prophetiæ namque spiritu pollere visus est, adeo ut quæ leviter

His love of poverty.

His gift of prophesy.

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[1] Harl. 4843; *peti*, Fx.

et negligenter proferebat, cum tanto virtutis miraculo accidebant, ac si aliquis ea quæ loquebatur oculis facta conspexisset. Temporum etiam vicissitudines, quæ non est nostrum, id est humanum, sed divinum, qui ei familiariter adhærebant nosse perhibent. Sed et his qui aliquando advenerant, subita tempestate præclusis, horam qua navem ascenderent ac redirent ostendit; sæpe tres dies aut quatuor, totam aliquotiens hebdomadam, eorum obsidioni subesse prædixit. Quorum tunc mœstitudinem et diutinæ expectationis fastidia blande leniterque consolari consuevit, et deficientibus quæ secum tulerant alimentis, de sua tenuitate, immo caritatis qua semper abundabat plenitudine, ministravit. Tantique erga singulos meriti habebatur et fidei, quod si tumentibus undis et mortis, ut putaretur, faucibus navem dare suaderet, exhortantis imperio nullus obsequi metueret, confidens quod ejus benedictione et oratione munitus cum summa salutis jocunditate marinos vortices transmearet. Inter alia largitatis a Deo dona fulgebat, quod nullus advenientium sine cibi et potus benedictione vacuus rediret.

His behaviour at meal time.

Cum fratribus plerumque cibum sumere, quandoque servientis assumens officium cibos afferre, sæpius apponere, nonnunquam hilari vultu coram astare aut sedere, et dulci narratione eorum quæ vel viderat vel audierat comedentium animos solet enutrire. Multi quoque ad eum, quos fama sanctitatis ejus attraxerat, tam de remotis quam de vicinis partibus confluebant, quibus ipse consilium salutis, et, si qua consolationis responsa expeterent, reddebat. Quorum multitudine et frequentia perturbatus, metuens ne favor jactantiam induceret, includi proposuit, ut quanto se ab humanis curis et colloquiis sequestraret, tanto ipse Deo propinquior fieret. Sed ex eorum ædificatione fructus sibi bonos et perfectos succrescere colligens, pristinæ quietis silentio contentus usque in finem perseverabat, apostolicæ discretionis documentum prosequens, qui,

Crowds flock to see him.

cum desiderium haberet dissolvi et esse cum Christo, necessarium duxit propter multorum salutem permanere in corpore, non quod sibi melius sed quod aliis ex caritate eligens. Quid denique loquar de operibus misericordiarum, de instantia vigiliarum, de flexione genuum, de assiduitate orationum? Implevit illud apostoli præceptum, "Semper orate," quia totum coram Deo orationi fuit consentaneum, quicquid sacris operibus fuerat impensum.

His various virtues.

1 Thess. v. 17.

§ 12. Multa quoque temptationum genera a concertatore suo diabolo expertus est. Modo enim se in murem, modo in leonem, modo in taurum transformavit; simiæ et murilegi sæpius effigies ostendit. Et merito in his maxime apparuit, ut qui captor voluit esse Deitatis, captor fieret muris, et qui humanæ dignitatis violator extitit, humanæ similitudinis vitium indueret. Viro itaque venerabili post laudes matutinas extincta lampade ante altare beatæ Dei genitricis Mariæ aliquando procumbenti, idem malignus spiritus affuit, et primo super vestigia, deinde super crura saltus dedit, postremo desuper se totum projiciens guttur manibus fortiter strinxit, et ita tamdiu tenuit, donec se vir Dei sub tanta mole putaret extingui. Fidelis vero Deus eum temptari non permisit supra id quod ferre potuit. Liberatus tandem ab hoste, statim, in immensos resolutus clamores, Sanctam Mariam sibi in auxilium vocare non cessabat. Plerumque etiam cum ad orationem super genua staret, idem eum inimicus per caputium trahere, et longius in atrium consuevit projicere. Arreptaque ille virga quam semper ob hujusmodi immissiones propius habebat, percutere eum nisus est. Sed derisit ictum ferientis imago refuga vanitatis. Sed astante illo ad altare, et sacra missarum solemnia celebrant, se exhibere non erubuit, et oram casulæ nunc trahens nunc excutiens devotionis obsequium præpedire laborabat. Quo igitur nos ejus astutias poterimus

The devil takes many forms to plague him.

effugere, si se sacris quoque mysteriis præsumit ingerere? Sed mirandum non est si divinis officiis ad temptandum corda sanctorum appropinquat, cum perversos sacerdotes etiam cum immolant inhabitat, immo quod—pace corporis Domini dixerim—in membris suis ipse immolat. Asserebat autem ipsum humani generis inimicum fragilem et fumo similem et facile a suo colluctatore posse subverti, si constiterit ex adverso viriliter decertari. Aquam quoque benedictam suam cum humore servare virtutem, eoque siccato dæmonum minus coercere præsentiam. Signum vero Dominicum summum ei in temptationibus cum scuto fidei dicebat fuisse refugium, ejusque omnes muniri præsidio qui suo fuerint armati vexillo. Quia necesse est ut semper crucis erubescat aspectum, cujus semel mysterio perpetuum sumpsit occasum, quemadmodum, qui semel uritur, ab ipso semper ignis vitetur.

The efficacy of holy water and of the sign of the cross.

A monk visiting Bartholomew in Farne is frightened by knockings.

§ 13. Nec solummodo ipsum, verum etiam et ipsos qui ad eum visitationis causa venerunt, a via salutis præpedire conatus est. Unde quod in quodam fratre Dunelmensi, quid in se ipso nuper gestum est, referente cognovi, huic loco inserendum duxi. Venit enim aliquando idem frater ad venerabilem virum, cupiens et ipse verbum exhortationis audire, et ejus orationibus se devotius commendare. Cumque vicissim de spiritualis vitæ rudimentis tractarent, malignus spiritus invisibiliter affuit, et quasi humana manu desuper tectum lapillis percutiens, hoc sonitu sui adventus signum dedit. Fratremque illum mox pavor corripit, et pallor ora perfundit. Quem sanctus intuens, blandeque consolans, "Ne turberis," ait, "fili, ne paveas. Venit bonorum omnium inimicus, et nostris nunc maxime sermonibus invidus, ut nos hoc strepitu perterritos a colloquiis divinis cessare compelleret." Statim denudato hoste et fugato, sanatum est vulnus timoris in fratre, quod per antiqui hostis præsentiam patiebatur in mente.

§ 14. Memoratus et in ævum memorabilis Thomas, deposito prioratus regimine, in insulam Farnæ secessit, et cum viro Dei Bartholomæo secretius Deo militare elegit. Sed licet eis una vitæ fuerit habitatio, non tamen eadem vivendi consuetudo. Bartholomæus enim in mensa parcitatem et horæ brevitatem quæsivit; Thomas alios cibos sumere et prandium protrahere consuevit. Cumque videret Bartholomæum sibi in cæteris conformare, in hujusmodi vero non assentire, de hypocrisi arguit, et simulationis vitio palam denotavit. Quo ille contristatus, tanquam ex animi levitate, ex discretione tamen, ut locum daret iræ, loco penitus cessit, et Dunelmum conversandi gratia venit. Sed ejusdem patris pœnitentia ductus et lacrimis, oratione prioris et fratrum delinitus, jussione demum episcopi commonitus, concesso sibi animali victu et vestitu ad insulam mansionemque suam completo anno remeavit. Hucusque enim ex proprio labore utrumque perceperat. Magna igitur inter eos tam linguarum quam animorum reformata est tranquillitas. Factumque est ut, dum Bartholomæus ex mutatione loci vitium in se levitatis accepit, in Thoma exasperationis vitium in mansuetudinem commutavit. Idem vero Thomas magnæ religionis amator, et eleemosnyarum cultor fuit. De quo, referente fratre Hemingo, qui ei in extremis decumbenti sedulum exhibebat obsequium, didici quod in excessu positus vidit choros candidatorum in superiore parte domus deambulantes portantesque libellos in manibus, et ad susceptionem ejus cum jubilo præparatos. Mirique odoris fragrantiam se traxisse naribus testatus est, quatinus illa suavitas aperte doceret, ad quantam amœnitatis dulcedinem spiritus ejus transire deberet. Cumque resolutionis debitum solveret, et spiritus in cælum totus efflueret, vidit Bartholomæus diabolum in angulo propius assistere, planctusque miserabiles ore terribili et facie deformi edere; ursus quippe tunc fuerat; eoque vehementius dolebat, quod nullam in moriente quæ dolori satisfaceret causam reperiret. Cas-

Prior Thomas takes up his abode on Farne.

Some disagreement arising between him and Bartholomew, the latter withdraws to the monastery at Durham: but at the end of a year, overcome by the universal entreaty, returns to the island.

Complete concord between him and Thomas.

Death of Thomas.

The devil, in the shape of a bear, bewails that he is powerless to molest so holy a man,

satis enim fallaciæ suæ laqueis quos ei a pueritia tetendit, libere cælestia libare senem conspexit. Allata autem Bartholomæus aqua benedicta locum et bestiam aspersit. At illa tactum aquæ declinans resiliit, et protinus in angulum rediit. Cumque aliquotiens hoc faceret, et aquarii sollicitudinem hostis deluderet, sumpto vir Domini in manibus vase pleno in faciem ejus projecit, et omni loco rore perfuso diversas tandem in formas paulatim deficiens hostis evanuit.

Aversion of the devil for holy water.

§ 15. Sed posito corpore prædicti prioris in vehiculo, equus qui ante claudicabat, obsequio defuncti submissus, a claudicatione cessabat. Sunt etiam quidam fidelium qui cum juramento asserunt, quod allato eo in ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ de Gateshevet et coram altari deposito,[a] vidit quidam bonæ vitæ diaconus columbam niveam toto noctis tempore circa loculum volitare, et sacris exequiis alarum plausibus cæleste obsequium præstitisse. Duorum quoque episcoporum, Edmundi et E[t]helredi,[b] in loco sepulturæ ejus corpora reperta sunt, quorum ante nomina sciri poterant, sepultura sciri non poterat. Quod divina dispositione gestum est. Qui enim non ex transgressione sed ex persecutione prioratum perdidit, merito episcopalis sepulchri honorem accepit. Hæc nullatenus intermisisse volui, quatinus agnoscatis quia plures ex hoc monasterio patres egressi sunt, qui, licet signa non fecerint in conspectu populi, apud Deum sunt pro sanctitate conversationis et simplicitate cordis meritis excelsi.

Various miracles prove the sanctity of Thomas.

He is buried with the bishops Edmund and Ethelred.

Ante, pp. 1 53.

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[a] The body was taken to Gateshead on the way from Farne to Durham, and rested in the church of St. Mary for a night. This we learn from Robert of Graystanes ("corpus ejus *pernoctaret*"); otherwise we might suppose that Gateshead was the place of burial. This passage of our author is quoted in ch. v. of Graystanes' history, who by an extraordinary blunder confounds this prior Thomas of the twelfth century with prior Thomas de Melsanby of the thirteenth, and also the first prior Bertram with the second of the name. See *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, edited by Mr. Raine for the Surtees Society.

[b] There was no bishop Ethelred; probably Egred is meant.

§ 16. Sed neque ad meritorum testimonium Bartholomæo defuit efficacia signorum. Ex quibus pauca quæ, ipso referente, successor ejus agnovit refero. Venerunt aliquando mulieres ad insulam Farnensem, cum quibus quædam quoque Flandrensis affuit. Quæ viros oratorium ingredi conspiciens et egredi, suggerente antiquo serpente, intrandi desiderio cœpit vehementius æstuare. Dixitque considentibus, "Quare "nos non ingredimur, et, quasi cum cæteris hominibus "nil habentibus commune, canibus comparamur?" Cumque aliæ prohibitionem a beato patre Cuthberto olim factam assererent, et a proposito temeritatis mentem revocare consulerent, contempsit vocem pie commonentium, et ausus fœminei implere festinabat flagitium. Erant oculi omnium intendentes in eam, quid faceret, quidve ei postmodum ex facto contingeret. Jamque vestigium in ostio posuit, et quasi valido venti turbine cælitus repulsa, retrorsum in terram exanimis corruit. Accurrunt tam viri quam fœminæ qui ad spectaculum convenerant, casum subitum admirantes. Quæ tunc mulierum confusio, virorum autem insultatio! Nuntiatur interea viro Dei quid gestum fuerit. Qui subridens ait, "Et hoc merito pro culpis suis ac-"cepit." Et surgens venit ad eam, et aqua benedicta moribundam aspersit. Mira res: adeo namque liquori salus festina successit, quod una eademque hora aquæ fieret aspersio et sanitatis exhibitio.

Bartholomew and the Flemish woman who slighted the prohibition of St. Cuthbert.

§ 17. Exiguum ceræ munusculum a quibusdam nautis acceperat, quam in batello suo projecit, et secum, cum[1] rediret, tollere non meminit. Erat forte mens ejus alias occupata. Jamque habitaculi sui fores attigerat, moxque substitit, et dum secum quo fuisset aut quid fecisset tractaret, cera demum quam post se reliquerat in mentem venit. Et reversus vidit corvum ceram in ore tenere, et ad ulteriorem insulam deferre.

Recovery of a piece of wax which some sailors had given him.

[1] Harl. 4843; om. Fx.

Quo viso contristatus est, positisque in littore genibus se in orationem dedit, supernam exorans pietatem ne quod nautæ dederant ex devotione ex negligentiæ suæ reatu usui deperiret ecclesiæ. Statimque corvus rediit, et ceram eodem in loco unde tulerat projecit. Hoc, elationis vitium devitans, non a se sed ab aliquo monacho factum referebat, laudabilem apostoli imitans humilitatem, qui virtutes suas sub persona alterius 2 Cor. xii. 2. humiliter memorat.

A boy who has let a boat go adrift is about to be punished by his master.

§ 18. Alio quoque tempore, quibusdam nautis in ejusdem insulæ portu commorantibus, puer eorum ad piscationem egressus est. Cymbam vero in qua erat puppi advectere reversus, sicut consueverat, oblitus est; solutamque protinus undæ rapaces excipiunt, et longius in freta compellunt. Quo nautæ comperto ad hominem Dei clamant, "Frater Bartholomæe, veni, et "adjuva nos." Qui egressus, et tanquam quid peterent præscius, subrisit, et ita jocose intulit, "Ut quid vo- "castis me? Quid enim mihi vultis dare?" Quibus de incommoditatis casu conquerentibus, ipse navigium ascendit, et cymbam eorum eis restituit. Insurgens ergo gubernator in puerum minas intendit, et manum ad percussionem extendit. Quod vir venerabilis prohibuit, dicens, "Scias hanc insulam tale pacis obtinere "privilegium, quod pro nullo erroris excessu licet alicui "animadversionis aliquod in ea exquirere judicium."

Bartholomew will not allow St. Cuthbert's peace to be broken.

What happened to the owner of the fishing smack, who would not hearken to him.

Ad hæc gubernator, "Et si in ea pacem habere meruit, "in navi pacem non habebit." Cui Bartholomæus, "In navi quoque vide ne feceris, eo quod inde con- "tinget quod vitæ tuæ non expediet." Ille vero monita patris audire contempsit, et adolescentem virga in navi cecidit. Factumque est ut dum ei non pepercit, sibi quoque non parceret. Primo namque post hæc navigationis die ægrotare cœpit, et secundo vitæ finem accepit. Quod sociis ejus viro Dei referentibus, respondit, "Numquid non dixi homini illi, 'Noli "'peccare in puerum,' et non audivit me?" Libet

igitur considerare quantus fuerit vir iste, qui et miserandi hominis interitum præscivit, et sub interminatione prædixit. In qua re quoque pensandum est, quanta timoris reverentia majora sanctorum suscipienda sunt mandata, cum pondus et grande credantur habere leviora.

§ 19. Avis parvula quotidianam de mensa ejus annonam capiebat, et percepta refectione recedebat. Eo autem quadam die in piscatione occupato, nisus eam usque in oratorium insecutus est; et quæ cibum hora solita capere venit, capitur, et captori suo præda et cibus efficitur. Sed tunc, licet Bartholomæus absens corpore fuerit, in virtute præsens fuit, quia nisus qui ei injuriam intulit exire volebat, nec valebat; huc illucque volatu præcipiti ferebatur. In fenestra sæpius impegit, et velut a muro repulsus est; in ostio quoque aperto parietis soliditatem invenit. Tanta denique fatigatione defessus, casu supra, ubi memoratus pater sedere solitus erat, descendit. Bartholomæus igitur de piscatione rediens, in limite oratorii pennulas et ossa reperit, et easdem esse reliquias avis suæ cognoscens vehementer indoluit. Cumque aliquantulum sedisset, elevans oculos vidit avicidam suum, recentis adhuc cruoris in rostro signa præferentem et ungulis. Dixitque ei, "Numquid tu, miser, avem nostram ausu "temerario invadere præsumpsisti." Et utraque manu apprehendens, quatinus tanti facinoris culpam jejunio purgaret, biduo inclusit; et die tertia, misericordia motus, abire permisit. In his quatuor trium patrum opera secutus est. In aspersione aquæ beatum Cuthbertum, qui uxorem comitis aqua benedicta pristinæ sanitati restituit. In reditu corvi eundem patrem, qui corvos revertentes ad pœnitentiam suscepit. In morte inobedientis, sanctisimum Domini famulum Benedictum, cujus qui imperium servare contempsit, in interitum corporis et spiritus diabolico furori traditus deficit.[a]

What he did to the hawk that killed his pet bird.

Vit. Cuth. 29.

Ib. 20.

[a] According to Henschen the Bollandist, "nihil tale legitur in Vita "S. Benedicti."

In dimissione peccantis nisi, laudabilem eremitam Godricum, qui leporem olera depascentem abire præcepit. Ex quibus colligi potest quia, quorum virtutes habuit, eorum spiritu plenus fuit. Acta SS. Mai. 21.

A description of Farne.

§ 20. Hac mare magnum et spatiosum navibus; illuc insulæ[a] quarum non est numerus. In eo quoque sita est insula Farnæ, cui merito potest convenire Isaiæ sententia, "Civitas solis vocabitur una." Hæc castrum namque olim dæmonum, nunc claustrum et schola sanctorum, quoddam in terris purgatorium, corporibus animisque curandis salubriter institutum, viros virtutum semper habet, immo et facit; quia, qui in ejus desertum a spiritu ducitur, necesse est ut diabolo temptetur, et aut virtutem colat, aut locum virtutis derelinquat. Plurima ibi rerum egestas, quæ se marino frigori consocians temptationis vires exaggerat. Situ pæne rotunda est. Scopulosam in superioribus faciem in gramineam extendit planitiem, cujus altera pars fodientibus hordeum, animalibus altera profert pabulum. Maceria dirimitur. Nulla illic inter cives de finibus contentio, neque a carne et sanguine, sed a principibus et potestatibus tenebrarum harum jugis est de regno et rectore colluctatio. Versus meridiem duorum milliarium spatio ab objecto secernitur litore. Ab oriente vero usque ad occidentem prærupta rupium altitudine præcingitur. Quæ boream respicit, contigua mari redditur, et infinito de hinc clauditur oceano. Reliquas regionis suæ plagas pro muro habet, et freto prominet; in quibus ei juges assultus, et cum fluctibus invincibilis est conflictus. Plerumque a supereminentibus et supereffluentibus tota perfunditur. Ingens tunc habitatoribus pavoris et frigoris importunitas. Isai. xix.

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[a] The Farne islands, about a score in number, lie to seaward of the island inhabited by St. Cuthbert and his successor. See the map in the excellent work of Monsignor Eyre, *The History of St. Cuthbert*, 1849.

§ 21. Ad ejus portum, immo portam, casa patet humilis et exigua, quæ a primo loci monarcha Cuthberto dicitur de lapidibus impolitis et vili cæspite constructa. Venientes ipsa excipit. Plurima his in ea consolatio; humanitatis abundat obsequiis, et pietatis opera ac studium administrat. [a]Quodam etiam tempore, deficientibus quæ apponerentur, misit Bartholomæus vaccam suam occidi, et non habentibus escam præparari; sui etenim negligens, aliorum semper sollicitus fuit. Nec longe ab ea fons eorum usibus accommodus est.[a] De hinc per arctam viam et angustam portam ad oratorium ascenditur, quod in quodam secretæ concavitatis latibulo positum aptum quieti et contemplationi præbet habitaculum. Neque hoc naturæ providentia, sed sui fundatoris Cuthberti, imam introrsus cædendo rupem, egit industria, quatinus, dum nihil præter cælum oculis subjicitur, in superna quisque desideria tota mentis intentione sublevetur. [b]Ad ejus meridianam plagam requiescit dominus Bartholomæus, ubi rupes fontem exhalat conspicuum, de imis ejus visceribus beati Cuthberti precibus olim elicitum.[b] Hæc etiam insula, licet omnibus quæ ad usus pertinent videatur egere, duorum fontium deliciosa suis habitatoribus consulit plenitudine. Quo cum hauriendi gratia piratæ conveniunt, velut a facie solis in siccitatem arescunt, et beneficium quod largiri solent, domesticis quoque subtrahunt. Hujus autem monarchiæ multæ subjacent insulæ, quarum alia fœnum, alia focum, alia, quæ et proxima est,[c] sepulturam naufragis subministrat.

The hut and the oratory.

[a]—[a] This passage is found in Harl. 4843; it is not in the Fairfax MS.

[b]—[b] This passage is added in the margin, in a hand of the same date. In Harl. 4843 both this and the interpolated passage which occurs in § 23 are incorporated in the text.

[c] The island nearest to Farne is one of two named "The Wide "Opens," on the east.

The islands near Farne haunted. Apparition of devils riding on goats.

§ 22. In his dæmonum phantasiæ commorari perhibentur. Cum enim suam metropolim debellante eos beato Cuthberto reliquerunt, ad suburbana ejus confinia confugerunt. Unde, cum aliquando fratres post laborem quieti se exponerent, apparebant subito quidam cucullati ascensores caprarum nigri. Breves illis staturæ, vultus teterrimi, et barbæ prolixæ; et eorum equitatus horribilis aspectus. Habebant et lanceas in manibus, quas more militantium vibrantes præferebant, et contra jacentes militiæ signa commovebant. Quorum ipsi conatus primo crucis irritabant objectu; deinde, cum ab assultibus non quiescerent, quidam pro sepe in circuitu ipsorum stramina signata, id est crucis vexilla, sabulo infixit. Cujus cum orbis munitionem irrumpere cuperent equitantes, perterriti resiliebant, et palmam victoriæ quiescentibus relinquebant.

§ 23. Inultum quoque in ea nihil committitur. Aut enim protinus ira doloribus reum affligit, aut revelatio rubore confundit. [a] Qui enim pullos mootarum saxis petebat, quia Bartholomæi prohibitionis imperium contempsit, post triduum vitæ finem accepit. Alius dum ejusdem transgressionis reatum incurreret, in suo indice, carne et cute usque ad sui medietatem consumptis, suæ præsumptionis reliquit indicium. Quidam etiam ibi furabatur cotem, sed navis quæ furem tenuit ventis exposita currere non potuit, nec remittebatur cum pœna peccatum, donec cum rubore restitueretur ablatum. Comestæ quoque avis reliquiæ, quæ, ne comedentis deprehenderetur crimen, in pelago fuerant projectæ, ejusdem insulæ patri in ostio oratorii, mirante ipso fratre qui deliquerat et pudore confecto, divinitus sunt oblatæ. Sed et qui poma furata comedit, quia

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[a]—[a] This passage also is added in the margin, in a hand of the same date.

ad interrogationem patris culpam tegere voluit, ea ad ejus vestigia protinus evomuit, et prodidit vitium cordis vitiosa eructatio oris. Alia quoque his similia ibi celebrari non desinunt.[a]

§ 24. Hanc vero insulam vetusta longevitas quasdam perhibet aves incolere, quarum cum miraculo et nomen perseverat et genus.[b] Tempore nidificationis ibi conveniunt. Tantæque mansuetudinis gratiam a loci sanctitate vel potius ab his qui locum in sua sanctificarent conversatione mox impetrant, ut humanos contactus et obtutus non abhorreant. Quietem amant, et tamen strepitu non deturbantur. Nidi longe ab incolis circumquaque præparantur. Secus altare quædam ovis cubant. Nullus eas lædere aut ova contingere sine licentia præsumit. Ex his tam sibi quam supervenientibus fratres apponunt. Nullam ipsæ de cibo molestiam eis faciunt. Cum masculis suis in æquore victum quærunt. Pulli eorum statim ut creati sunt matres præcedentes subsequuntur, et patrias undas semel ingressi non revertuntur ad nidos. Matres quoque, oblita lenitate quam habuerant, pristinum sapiendi statum cum mari recipiunt. Hæc est hujus insulæ præclaræ dignitas prærogativæ,[1] quam si veterum studia comperissent, laude pulcherrima per orbem diffudissent.

The eider-ducks on Farne.

§ 25. Quodam autem tempore, dum quædam pullos suos ipsa præeunte duceret, unus ex eis in rimosæ rupis baratrum incidit. Mater vero substitit tristior, et humanæ rationis habitum nemo tunc dubitet induisse. Confestim enim reversa relictis ibi filiis ad

How Bartholomew restored to an eider-duck one of her brood which had fallen into a hole.

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[1] Sic in ambobus MSS.; lege *prærogativa.*

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[b] See the description of the eider or Cuthbert duck in the work of Monsignor Eyre (p. 44), cited in a former note. The Farne islands are the only places in England where they breed.

Bartholomæum venit, oram pallii sui rostro trahere cœpit, ac si aperte diceret, "Surge et sequere me, et "filium meum mihi redde." Cui ille ocius assurgit, credens quod sub ipso nidum quæreret. Illa vero magis ac magis trahente, animadvertit tandem eam aliquid petere, quod significatione vocis non noverat expedire. Erat autem perita opere, quæ fuerat imperita sermone. Præcedit igitur ea, illeque subsequitur, veniensque ad rupem rostro locum ostendit, et Bartholomæum intuita, quo potuit indicio ut introspiceret innuit. Qui accedens videt pullum in rupe pennulis hærentem, et descendens matri restituit. Quo illa plurimum delectata lætiore vultu putabatur gratias agere. Aquas ergo cum filiis ingreditur, et Bartholomæus stupore repletus ad oratorium suum regreditur. Ita quoque omnipotens Dominus virtutum gratiam in sanctis suis temperat, ut nonnunquam ex minimis rebus amplioris gloriæ titulus accrescat.

Vision of St. Cuthbert on Christmas day.

§ 26. Veniam quoque ad visiones cælestes, quarum ipse deliciosa jocunditate et suavitate succensus, ad ea quæ sursum sunt quærenda et contemplanda solitariæ quietis dulcedine cœpit ardentius inhærere, sedere scilicet, tacere, et elevare se super se. Beatus etenim pater Cuthbertus non solummodo per visum, verum etiam corporaliter, ad consolationem famuli sui suam exhibere dignatus est præsentiam. Celebrata namque in salutem fidelium missa in nocte solemni quodam die Nativitatis Dominicæ, laudibusque matutinis in laudem Dei completis, post modicum temporis intervallum egressus est vir Domini Bartholomæus videre an adhuc dies ille sacer in auroram albesceret, quatinus secunda celebratio fieri potuisset. Et reversus vidit cereos accensos, et venerandi vultus sacerdotem coram sancto altari sacerdotalibus indutum assistere. Cumque nullus ad ministrandum apparuit, ipse admiratione et gaudio repletus accessit; dictaque alterutrum confes-

He says the second Mass; Bartholomew serves.

sione, canebant officium "Lux fulgebit"[a] cum cæteris, in voce jubilationis et lætitiæ. In prosa quoque lætabundus se supra vires clamasse professus est. Peractis autem sacrosanctis mysteriis, cerei, nemine manum aut extinctorium apponente, extincti sunt, ipseque venerabilis sacerdos ex oculis ejus evanuit. Nec ausus est eum Bartholomæus interrogare quis esset, sciens sine dubio quia sanctus antistes extitisset. Cumque hoc aliquando fratri Willelmo, cujus ego hoc relatione didici, aperuit, inquisitus est ab eo utrum inter sacræ celebrationis obsequia osculum quoque pacis ei dederit. Quod licet confiteri noluerit, dubium non est quin id exhibuerit, qui debitum et devotum in cæteris ministerium impendit.

§ 27. Quadam nocte, cum in laudem gloriosæ Matris Domini hymnos matutinos caneret, frater memoratus fenestram orientalem copiosa luce vidit perfundi, eamque huc illucque quadam ludendi similitudine deferri. Cœpitque secum attonitus quærere quæ esset, aut unde intempestæ noctis silentio tanta claritas adveniret. Egressus vero, de præfati luminis ostensione virum Dei inquirit. Sed ille quod verum noverat pandere dissimulans, quærentis instantiam jocose verborum interjectione delusit. Nocte vero sequenti illis in memoriam beati Cuthberti solitam laudem decantantibus, a fenestra boreali lux immensa resplenduit, quæ non tantum ipsos perfudit, verum etiam totum oratorium sua immensitate replevit. Statimque se Bartholomæus in orationem dedit, et ille quoque junior ad orandum genua flexit. Egressis demum illis, et de his quæ ad cælestem conversationem pertinent more solito conferentibus, memoratus junior, ostensæ visionis mysterium scrutari cupiens, ait, "Non se frustra nostris "oculis secundo illa claritas exhibuit." Quo ipse audito, "Divinum enim," inquit "erat lumen quod nobis "apparuit. Quotiens enim beatus pater Cuthbertus

A supernatural light seen twice.

Bartholomew's explanation of it.

[a] The first words of the introit of the second Mass on Christmas Day.

"ad hujus loci visitationem se exhibere dignatur, suam "tanti luminis effusio præsentiam comitatur." Ex qua re plenius colligendum est supernam gloriam ipsum sæpius conspexisse, et ad ipsius consolationem sanctorum præsentiam nonnunquam affuisse. Nos quoque, cum ad opus divinum stamus, quorum in laudem Dei memoriam agimus, eos, etsi humanis obtutibus complecti nequimus, præsentes adesse semper credamus.

It is revealed to Bartholomew in a vision that he has nine years more to live.

§ 28. Hic quoque memorabilis pater obitum suum longe ante præscivit et prænuntiavit. Viderat in visione quemdam sibi mirandi decoris et eximiæ claritatis virum assistere, qui ei in hujus incolatu sæculi novem annos superesse revelabat, et hæredem loci et nomen et meritum prædicebat. Cœpitque ex eo tempore vigiliis et orationibus et cæteris spiritualis vitæ exercitiis instantius incumbere, et animam ad superni speciosi contemplationem, ne in ea ruga vetustatis aut macula iniquitatis appareret, præparare. Quadam itaque nocte, cum vigilaret in oratione, tintinnabulum suum, nullo pulsante, trinæ pulsationis quasi trinæ citationis signum dedit, quatinus ex hoc agnosceret, quod vocatio sua e corpore immineret.

From that time he prepares himself for death more earnestly than ever.

His bell rings three times.

He falls ill.

§ 29. Percepturus igitur pro labore requiem incidit in ægritudinem, et quod ex ea longi certaminis conflictum in felicem concluderet exitum præscivit, et sui corporis resolutionem jam non in occulto, sed palam fratribus denuntiavit. Ex quo quam plures ex ipsis, hi tamen præcipue qui in Lindisfarnensi insula constituti sunt, eum frequentius invisere statuerunt. Venerunt quoque quidam ex Coldingham fratres quos ipse specialis gratiæ prærogativa dilexerat, quatinus faciem patris quam in hoc seculo postea visuri non erant inspicerent,[a] et supremam ab eo exhortationem et sanctarum manum impositionem perciperent. Quibus de loco

The monks from Lindisfarne come often to see him.

Some also come from Coldingham.

[a] Here ends the text of Geoffrey in the Acta SS.; *see* Introduction.

suæ tumulationis sciscitantibus, "Hic," ait, "corpus "meum quiescere desidero, ubi spiritum a suo Con- "ditore sublevandum spero, et aliquantulum Domino "militavi, et tribulationes multas pro ea quæ in cælis "est consolatione sustinui. Vereor namque ne, me "alibi sepulto, libri auferantur, vestimenta diripiantur, "decor domus Dei evacuetur, et in pristinæ solitu- "dinis sive turpitudinis horrorem convertatur. Locus "etenim iste sanctus est, qui ante adventum meum "non ea qua decuit reverentia colebatur. Raro divi- "norum fiebat celebratio. Laici quippe habitabant in "eo; erantque ibi pecora multa, quæ, cum inunda- "tio maris aut inclementia aeris urgeret, in oratorio "latibulum refugii quærebant, immo stabulum facie- "bant; et si qui orandi gratia advenirent, nec præ "sordibus genua flectere, nec præ fœtore ora poterant "ad orationem aperire. Venit autem quidam ex "Lindisfarnia, Edulfus nomine, adhibitis sibi sociis "qui eum secuti sunt cum naviculis suis. Ingres- "susque oratorium, perspectis sordibus contristatus "est, ut posset Dominicæ emulationis sententiam pro- "ferre, 'Zelus domus tuæ comedit me.' Sociique ejus "ad lacrimas compuncti sunt, assumptisque remis suis "sordes ejecerunt, et allato de littore sabulo, quod "aquosæ fæditatis humorem absumeret, asperserunt. "Quo facto, ad piscationem redibant, eoque die ita "successit in captura piscium, quod eis copia fieret "in miraculum. Renavigabant igitur ad insulam, et "domum hospitum ingressi, de pisciculis ad coquendum "in caldario miserunt. Idemque Edulfus subito tantæ "suavitatis fragrantiam naribus traxit, quod se in "quadam paradisi amœnitate positum esse putaret. "In magnam quoque animi admirationem ductus, huc "illucque cursitando sedulus explorator inquirit, quid- "nam esset unde insoliti odoris dulcedo efflueret. Sed "terrenæ mentis oculus, qui terrena discernere nove- "rat, quæ cælitus gerebantur advertere non poterat.

He desires to be buried on Farne,

fearing that otherwise the island will return to its old state of wildness,

such as it was in long ago, when Edulf cleansed the oratory.

" Nocte igitur sequenti, beatus confessor Domini Cuth-
" bertus dormienti astitit, dicens, 'Quia hesterna die
" 'in emendatione oratorii mei fœtorem maximum per-
" 'pessus es, idcirco illa quam admodum mirabaris
" 'suavitas subsecuta est.' Sed etiam hoc majoris
" admirationis extitit, quod nunquam, quoad vixit, in
" remuneratione tanti operis odor ille a naribus suis
" abcessit. Et ideo, fratres, hic requiescere desidero,
" ne eorum quæ reculi misera contingat similitudo, sed
" et sententiam maledictionis Dei omnipotentis et
" beatæ Mariæ et meæ incurrere se noverit, qui, ex-
" cepto episcopo et priore Dunelmensi, me alibi gremio
" sepulturæ commendare præsumpserit." Illi vero, videntes eum longiore sermone fatigatum, quia vis infirmitatis possibilitatem loquendi ademerat, accepta juxta consuetudinem benedictione, perfusi lacrimis et confecti tristitia, remeaverunt ad propria.

His fast of seven weeks before his death.

§ 30. Quia singularis abstinentiæ gratia præditus fuerit, in infirmitatis quoque tempore declaravit. Septem namque hebdomadibus ante exitum suum e corpore, nec comedisse perhibetur neque bibisse. Quinta siquidem feria, solemni die Ascensionis Dominicæ, in- 6 Mai.
choavit illud laudabile jejunium, et rursus quinta feria,
A.D. 1193. nativitate scilicet Johannis Baptistæ, migravit ad Domi- 24 Jun.
num; quatinus "ascensiones in corde suo disponens," et "de virtute in virtutem progrediens" ad eum sacro curreret obitu quem ille glorioso præcucurrit ortu.

An internal abscess breaks.

Nono vero ante transitum suum die, apostema quod intus gerebat ruptum est, et defluente ex ore ejus sanie, et obrigescente toto corpore, a fratribus migrasse arbitratus est. Flebant autem singuli, et tristitia absorpti quid agerent diutius habebant. Et ecce vir sanctus caput paululum erexit, et longum ex imo pectore trahens suspirium ingemuit. Quod videns frater qui tunc jacenti lacrimosus spectator assedit, inter lacrimas gaudens ait, "Quomodo habes, pater?" "Bene,"

inquit, "fili; verumtamen hac hora valde fatigatus "sum." Levantesque eum in manibus portabant. Cumque ad dormitorium venirent, et eum ibi deponere cogitarent, digito innuit, non enim præ molestia loqui potuit, quod illo deferri noluisset. Transierunt ergo, et in thalamum suum parvulum deposuerunt. Completoque sacræ unctionis officio, resedit ipse. Sederunt et fratres, in faciem ejus intendentes, et horam sacri transitus præstolantes. Subitoque factus est in atrio sonitus quasi murium saltantium, et super tectum quasi passerum ungulis et rostro reptantium. Quod illi quidem audierunt, videre autem non potuerunt. Et respicientes ad invicem, nimio terrore correpti stupebant, et quod audierant ac si non audissent nutu sibi vicissim nuntiabant. Sed et moles quasi canis immanissimi ab angulo domus ad tergum memorati fratris cecidit, et inter ipsum et parietem hæsit. Quod ille sentiens animo deficere, et ingentiori pavore concepto cœpit pallescere. Bartholomæus autem, quod fiebat manifeste cognoscens, in eundem fratrem respexit, et ultra fatigari non permisit. Dixitque, "Quid hic agis, "miser et infelicissime? In vanum laboras, quia nec "in me nec in illo quicquam tuum reperies." Statimque omnis ille sonitus cum horrore abscessit, quia malignus spiritus, qui tunc præsens affuit, vocem ejus sustinere non potuit.

Strange noises are heard.

Something like a dog is seen.

Bartholomew rebukes the bad spirit

§ 31. Sexto autem post hæc die esurire se professus est. At illi modicum lactis infuderunt ori ejus, quatinus per hoc caro fragilis edoceret, quod longa jejunii protractio quod peregit non ex se sed divinæ virtutis munere fuit. Instante vero solemnitate beati præcursoris, qua ipse ad Dominum erat exiturus, exitum suum Dominici corporis et sanguinis communione munivit. Sedenteque eo et suæ resolutionis horam expectante, cor ejus cum sonitu crepuit, quem audiebant omnes qui ei assistebant. Cumque per os ejus sanguis plurimus proflueret, putabant quod cum eodem fluxu

He takes little milk.

The audible beating of his heart.

Hemorrhage.

spiritus quoque ejus exiret. Miro vero modo et temporibus nostris vehementer stupendo, post hæc, quasi cor integrum haberet, sedisse, stetisse, verba protulisse, et in supremo flatu compos mentis perhibetur extitisse, et quamdiu videre licuit, nunc ad crucem, nunc ad fratrem præfatum obtutus reflexit. Defectum siquidem naturæ supplevit virtus gratiæ. Unde quisque fidelis intelligat, quia, si voluisset, juxta exemplum reverentissimi patris magni Basilii, usque in diem alterum vitam transferre potuisset. De quo refertur, quod cum in infirmitate qua et mortuus est decumberet, et vigor in eo naturæ penitus defecisset, ob optatam sui medici, gentili adhuc errore detenti, conversionem, ultra quam humanæ conditionis debitum poposcit, longioris vitæ gratiam a Plasmatore hominum accepit.[a]

He retains all his faculties to the last.

§. 32. Omni vero tempore imbecillitatis suæ nunquam stratum in quo vel modicum pausaret fieri permisit, nunquam cervical capiti, videlicet fulcimen aliquod supposuit corpori, sed sedens, aut ambulans, aut insulam circuiens ab oratione non cessavit. Molestiæ demum magnitudo quam pertulit divina celebrare prohibuit; sed debilitata virtute corporis, ad divinam contemplationem anhelabat ferventius intentio mentis. Advenientibus denique se videndum exhibere vitabat. Cum fratribus colloquium habere vix consensit. Jam enim homines videre non dignatus ad cælestium toto corde inhiabat aspectum.

His life had been one of austerity and continual prayer.

§ 33. Transactis in vita solitaria quadraginta duobus annis et mensibus sex et decem et novem diebus, ex hac luce subtractus est. Cujus sanctissimi obitus hora cuidam miræ simplicitatis adolescenti, tunc in insula Lindisfarnensium in capella Sancti Columbæ quiescenti, cælitus innotuit. Cum ante altare sopori se

He had been a hermit on Farne more than 42 years. At the moment of his death a young man at Lindisfarne has a vision acquainting him with it.

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[a] See the apocryphal Life of St. Basil, of which a translation is given by the Bollandists (Acta Sanctorum, 14 June, p. 955).

dedisset, quidam venerandi vultus ei astitit, dicens, "Surge velociter, et dic priori hujus loci et fratribus, "quia dominus Bartholomæus migravit a sæculo, et "frater Willelmus omnia usque ad solemnes hujus "diei vesperas complevit." Qui mox surrexit, et quæ jussa fuerant retulit. Superveniente autem alio de urbe Bebbæ, et de transitu viri Dei referente, navem ascenderunt, et ad insulam venientes ita hora eadem contigisse didicerunt, sicut veridica adolescentis narratione cognoverunt. Corpus igitur patris ex more lotum, et monachalibus honorifice circumdatum, petrino in sarcophago quod ipse sibi præparaverat ad meridianam oratorii sui partem foris reverenter condiderunt. Dicitur vero quod, cum illud de longinquo deferri fecisset, semet ipsum, morti tunc mortuum, in medio composuit, quatinus vivus agnosceret, si in eo mortuus locum quietis habere potuisset. Quod quia minus aptum repperit, assumpta securi cementaria id sibi diligenter cædendo conformavit. Quia enim prudens et vigilans horam qua fur veniret prævenire volebat, spiritui cælum, corpori tumulum præparabat, in quo finis monetur cunctorum, et vivens cogitat quid futurum sit. Unde majores nostri monumentum quasi monimentum dixerunt, per quod intuentibus sepulti reviviscit memoria, et eos de casu consimili commonet conscientia.

Monks come from Lindisfarne and bury him in a stone sepulchre,

which he had hewn to fit his body.

§ 34. Mortuus igitur est servus Domini Bartholomæus, cui Christus fuit vivere et mori lucrum perenne. Nec potuit apud Deum mori, quem, quoad vixit, mundo constitit sepeliri. Sed et opera quæ fiunt in terris testata nobis sunt, quantus fuerit operator in cælis. Accessit enim quidam ad tumulum ejus in fide postulans, et de potentia meritorum ejus nihil hæsitans; uniusque noctis tempore in vigiliis et orationibus transacto, reliquit eum febris quæ toto ei adhæserat anno.

His sanctity is declared by a miracle.

[Ph]il. i., 21.

X 2

Cure of a woman who is either mad or possessed.

§ 35. Elapsis aliquot diebus, aliud in quadam muliere virtutis signum creditur contigisse. Hæc enim mente capta, et sensus officio destituta, dæmonium a nonnullis pati arbitrata est. Ad se vero paululum cœpit reverti, quid diceret aut quid ageret intellexit, sanitatis tamen plenitudinem non attigit. Rogabant amici ejus quatinus cicutam majorem biberet, cujus virtute quod saluti supererat reciperet. Bibit illa, et facta sunt posteriora ejus pejora prioribus. Furor enim subiit vesanior, passio desævit mirabilior, adeo quod dentibus strideret, et ore et oculis malignum in se spiritum habitare doceret. Inito igitur parentes salubri consilio, ligatis manibus et pedibus, navicula impositam Farnæ deferunt, et fratri memorato eam offerentes quid agendum viderit inquirunt. Hic antea murum novum construxerat, qui ab oriente usque ad occidentem versus meridiem oratorium præcingit. Fecit in eo duas fenestreolas, unde mulieres quibus aliunde videndi non est accessus, sepulchrum viri Dei licite queant intueri. Dixit igitur eis, "Ite et ducite eam ad orientalem "muri plagam ut introspiciat. Et si vobis quoquo-"modo suggerentibus dicere potuerit, 'Sancte Bartho-"'lomæ,' credo quod omnipotens Deus ad honorandam "servi sui sanctitatem aliquod nobis exaltationis novæ "signum dignabitur exhibere." Faciunt quæ jubentur; clamoribus insistunt; tunsionibus impellunt; blandimentis aliquotiens et precibus alliciunt, et sic in os patientis verbum illud salutis et jocunditatis vix tandem immittunt. Denique nihil aliud novit promere nisi quod semel acceperat in ore. Cumque divinitus clamaret, cœpit repente, intuentibus illis, maturiorem agendi habitum accipere, et ad se aliquantulum visa est redisse. Nec ab eodem loco recessit donec omnis vesaniæ furor conquiesceret, et ipsa sibi restituta de plenæ salutis munere gauderet.

A young man cured of a goitre.

§ 36. Quidam juvenis cujuspiam operis gratia in eadem cum sociis morabatur insula. Hujus collo ad

instar squinanciæ tumor noxius succreverat, quem ipse, ne cooperantium deprehenderet aspectus, studiosius occultabat. Faciem quippe ægritudinis obtexit velamento pudoris. Eo autem per nervos et fauces ipsius adeo ut vix eum cutis extenta teneret diffuso, metuque periculi majoris accepto, inspirante omnium salvatore Deo tumbam venerandam triduo cum fide secreto petiit, et collum lapidi confricans, quarto die omni præfatæ inflationis molestia caruit. Vidensque quod factum fuerat in se signum, memorato fratri referre curavit. Qui dixit ei, "Quare dissimulasti et non indicasti "mihi?" At ille, "Verebar," inquit, "et pudor impe-"rabat silentium. Ostenso vero cælitus hoc in me mi-"raculo, silere timui." Quia secretum regis abscondere
ias xii. 7. bonum est, opera vero Dei confiteri et revelare honorificum est.

Explicit Vita Bartholomæi monachi et Farnensis anachoritæ.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

III.

[VITA S. OSWALDI REGIS ET MARTYRIS.][a]

Incipit epistola domino Henrico transmissa de sancti regis et gloriosi martyris Oswaldi genealogia ex ortu commentata.

Prologue, addressed to Henry the sub-prior of Durham

Venerabili in Christo domino et patri Henrico quondam Dunelmensium suppriori Reginaldus suus secundi nominis caput abscidere, et, quod residuum fuerit, temporibus felicibus obtinendo possidere.

Antiquata innovare, dispersa congregando adunare, fasciculum de multorum manipulis confortare, prudentis est studii, sapientis ingenii, eruditioris eloquii. Nec hujusmodi possumus nos aliquid præsumere, nec urbanitatis fasteciam agrestes et claustrales ruricolæ vendicare. Colores enim rhetoricos non attigimus, Parnasi montis studiis disciplinæ calamos non intinximus, nec fontis Castallinæ venis fluentibus labra inscientiæ animum inhudando delibavimus, sed in venia Domini Jhesu botros animorum confecimus, uvas maturitatis senio flaventes obstupuimus, de quorum inferioribus surculis sicomoros pubescentes eduximus, et sarmenta quædam arescentia ad ignem studii pauperis incen-

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[a] This biography of king Oswald has never been printed. Its author, Reginald, was in all probability the same person as the author of the *Life of St. Godric* (printed by the Surtees Society), and of the *Libellus*, also printed by that Society, on the admirable virtues and miracles of St. Cuthbert. He was a friend of Ailred abbot of Rievaulx, and flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. See Introduction.

The list of the monks of Durham in the Durham MS. contains, in that later portion of it which may be dated between 1150 and 1160, three Reginalds. Our author tells us that he was the second of the name.

dendum collegimus. Quod si hujus opusculi commenta quisquam dente livido reprehenderet, ipsius emulatio parva est vipera toxicata, quæ quondam manum operationis Pauli mordere non desiit. Unde hujusmodi viperæ emulatione in ipsius quem accendit ignis excutiendo relidemus exustionem, quia manum humilem conscientiæ innocuæ corrodere non prævalet lima pravitatis alienæ. Sola enim nos devotionis scintilla provocat, non alia ulla ambitionis arrogantia nos incitando inflammat, vestræque piæ jocunditatis imperium, non vero cujusvis improperiosæ adulationis emolumentum. Satius quidem judicavimus nostri desiderio satisfacere quam emulorum proposito parcere. Nam dilectio vestra verbo tenus semel repromissa quotidianis provectibus tendit in augmentum, in veritate solidatur eloquium, radicatur in perfectæ spei consolatione consultum. Cum igitur fides sit in colloquio, spei fructus centesimus in promisso, deesse non poterit multimodæ caritatis exhibitio constantissimæ exercitationis experimento. His animatus benignitatum consolationibus plura de nobis vobis repromittimus quam propalandis calamis judicamus. In nobis ergo fides non fluctuat, spes non deviat, amoris scintilla vaporando coruscat, quia fides radicatur in provectu, spes producitur in effectum, dilectio vero mansueto blanditur in fructu. Qui fructus jocundatur in opere, frondet in consolatione, floret in caritatis dulcedine, maturescit in devota promptæ fidei longanimitate. Caritas nimirum vestra longanimis est et non volatilis, constans in benignitate et non flexibilis, emicans fructificatione pii operis, non fucata tegmine coloris, nec forinsecus defricans labra colloquentium auricalco pigmentatæ adulationis; sed quod libenter inchoat fideliter explicat, quod verbo astruit operis opere consumit. Nempe hujusmodi soboles operis de ingenita nobis emanat natura dulcedinis; nam nunquam manus vestra horum singula tam facile explicaret in opere, nisi animus in-

The author deprecates envious criticism.

ternæ dulcedinis horum progenita possideret radicitus naturali privilegio dignitatis. Sicut enim radix natalium sementina facile producit in surculum, sic animus gemina liberalitate progenitus gratia virtutum libertina sine laboris dispendio illustris intentionis producit exemplum. Merito igitur de rege Oswaldo tanti viri quæritur originis natalitia, cujus natalium gloria species videtur esse virtutis, et insignis gratiæ prærogativa. Nam animum regiæ virtutis decet originem specialiter quærere regiæ dignitatis. Cui si non comparari sit possibile a pompa præclari sanguinis, erit tum effigiari comparabile piæ exemplo imitationis. Nimirum ubi animus a consimili non discrepat emulationis imitatione, ibi profecto non immerito comparatio consonat acceptabilis ex insigni gratia nobilitatis. Nobilitas etenim generosi sanguinis apud Deum constat opus consummatæ fuisse virtutis. Nec hoc tamen, ut ejus quæratis gloriam, vestra primum devotionis instantia adinvenit, sed ipsius regis gratuita clementia nos per suæ insignia benevolentiæ anticipando prævenit. In die enim suo natalicio nos ceteris confratribus prætulit pro magisterii ministerio et exemplo. Nam quo die caput suum venerabile gladio, ut agnus mansuetus, pro Christo subdidit, eadem luce vobis gladium examinationis judicii purissimi atque vestris manibus inter suos provida dispensatione distribuit. Quo caput dimisit speculatoris ictibus, eo die vos multis animorum præfecit regnis et tribubus. Regium virum super suos ipsa luce Oswaldus rex extulit, sub cujus lucis tempore viator pro suis gloriosus occubuit, quia sicut ab humeris et sursum præminebat super universi cœtus fratrum collegium, ita occulta Dei providentia præferri potentiæ imperio meruistis supra diversi regiminis ordines potestatum. His unde dictionibus dulcedinis rex Oswaldus vos præveniendo ad regiæ dispensationis ministerium accersivit, et suæ ecclesiæ magisterium per injunctum officium ministerii delegando commendavit;

"Laus Henrici supprioris de statura corporis."

et ut facti essetis lucerna doctrinæ supra candelabrum Dunelmensis ecclesiæ, de sub modio humilitatis innocuæ vos supra regularis extulit moderamina disciplinæ. Inde jam tres gradus alios isto duce prævio pertransistis, sed in his adhuc omnibus statum necdum constantia perseverabilem invenistis. Oswaldus quidem primus vos sublimem creavit in ecclesia, sanctus Cuthbertus dispensatorem consecravit in insula, Paulus instruxit patrisfamilias arte scenofactoria, quem postremo episcopus Dunelmensis ducem præelegit arte notaria. Itaque in primordio regiæ virtutis consecuti estis gratiam, per ecclesiastici regiminis et imperii munificentiam, in sequenti dispensationis operam et providentiam per domus procurationem et hospitandi frequentem diligentiam, in tertio statu veræ architecturæ peritiam et agriculturæ noticiam, per efficacem capacis ingenii disciplinam, in quarto vero doctrinæ eloquentiam et experientiam per multimodum scripturarum exercitationis caracterem et figuram. Hoc quoque superest solummodo, ut participatio antiquati regiminis, beato Oswaldo providente, innovetur per plenitudinem potestatis, procuratio dispensationis in operatione omnimodæ executionis agricultura architecturæ in regimine et dispositionem animarum fovendarum et ad cælestia exhortandarum, calamus vero scriptoris in documentum magisterii et prædicationis. Cæterum diversarum textus historiarum percurrendo translegimus, et quia voti vestri animum erga sancti Oswaldi gloriam cognovimus, de ipsius genealogiæ nobilitate et serie ea quam potuimus compendiose discerpsimus. Quæ omnia in fasciculo manuali perstrinximus et in capite opusculi nostri præfiximus. Convenit enim prævenire in capite, a cujus exordio emanare dignoscitur quicquid reliquo gestum constat in corpore. Et facilius poterit reliqua quæque cognoscere, qui hæc prius dignatus fuerit legendo retexere. Qui enim ortum ipsius regis gloriosi agnoverit, processum istius operis, prodigia virtutis, magnalia no-

The various promotions of the sub-prior.

bilitatis, et miracula ejus præclaræ pietatis, sine errore dignoscere, advertere, et perpendere prævalebit.

Lists of Chapters. Book 1.

CAPITULA LIBRI SEQUENTIS.

I. De nobili stemmate ejusdem gloriosi regis et martyris, et de vita illius et conversatione et fine, et de his quæ a viris veridicis tradita sunt et probata.

II. De qua Anglorum progenie mater sancti Oswaldi processerit, et de quibus regum natalibus ipsa orta fuerit, et ubi ipsa cum sancto Oswaldo et fratribus ejus fidem susceperit.

III. De qua regum nobilitate sibi sponsam duxerit, et quomodo patrem puellæ de baptismatis susceperit fonte, et sancto Birino sedem episcopatus dederit.

IV. De Athelwoldo filio sanctissimi regis Oswaldi, quid egerit, ubi regnaverit, quantumque de regno patris obtinuerit.

V. Quis sanctum Edwinum converterit et quo tempore, et quomodo Aidanus episcopus Lindisfarnensis episcopatum Eboraci diu rexerit.

VI. Qui reges de catalogo regum Christianorum auferantur, et quomodo vel quis eos occiderit, et quomodo sanctus Osdus vicerit, et de sancto Edwino et sponsa et filiis.

VII. De Athelwoldi filii sancti Oswaldi beneficiis et pietate, et de ejus similiter feritate et adversus parentes suos insectatione.

VIII. Quod non debeat animum lectoris offendere quod audit ex parte sanctum Oswaldum de gente pagana venisse, odoriferum florem de spineta pululare.

IX. De regibus qui ante et post sanctum Oswaldum regnaverant, et quomodo se invicem occiderunt, et quomodo insectatores ejus interierunt, et contra quem crucem erexerit.

X. De rerum abundantia et pestilentia sancti Oswaldi tempore subsecuta, et quomodo angelis ei apparentibus ob ejus merita tam populus quam ipse de morte fuerit erutus.

XI. Quam sibi inclitus rex Oswaldus sponsam acceperit, et quali fine decesserit, et pudicitiæ honestatem quantum dilexerit.

XII. Ubi sit locus ille ubi sanctus Oswaldus in morte procubuit, et quomodo Pendam fugaverit in Armoniam, id est Walliam, qualiterque regnum ejus prius illi direptum abstulerit.

XIII. Quibus miraculis sancti Oswaldi caput de humo sit elatum, et ubi postea longo tempore collocatum sit.

XIV. Quomodo vel ubi Penda rex sanctum Oswaldum immunitum præcluserit, vel ubi ipse locus sit in quo eum occiderit.

XV. Qualiter per visum rex Oswiu sit de brachiis sancti Oswaldi commonitus, et quomodo cælitus sit inde edoctus.

XVI. De habitu vel forma viri qui ei per visum astitit.

XVII. Quomodo avis permaxima brachium sancti Oswaldi de stipite sustulerit, et qualiter arbor arida ad contactum illius viruit, et quam celerem ultionem sentiat si quis de ea aliquid abstulerit.

XVIII. Quomodo de silice durissima fons vivus erupit ubi Dei providentia manus cum brachio sancti Oswaldi in terram decidit.

XIX. Qua ratione sancto Oswaldo non filius regius successit, sed magis ad fratrem sancti Oswaldi regnum transiit.

XX. De fratre sancti Oswaldi et filio quanta pietate floruerint, et quam fideles extiterint, et quibus studiis operam dederint.

XXI. De qua progenie sanctus Ceowlfus rex prodierit, et quantum regnavit; et de desolatione ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensis et vindicta, et quomodo Ceowlfus monachos bibere cerviseam fecerit.

XXII. Quo anno idem rex monachus sit effectus, et quanta in regno perpessus est, et quo anno migravit, et qui reges tunc Anglorum monachi facti sunt.

XXIII. De industria regis Ethelfridi patris sancti Oswaldi, et de morte Thebaldi patrui sui.

XXIV. Qualia sanctus Augustinus Britonibus fidei repugnantibus prædixerit, et quomodo per regis Alfridi tyrannidem ea Deus impleverit.

XXV. Quomodo rex Ethelfridus Britonibus occurrens stragem infinitam dederit, neque monacho neque Christiano pepercerit.

XXVI. Quantæ feritatis vel inclementiæ erga domesticos fuerit, et de quo regum stemate regiæ nativitatis originem ducat.

XXVII. Quales filios habuerit, et qualiter sanctus Edwinus metu ipsius multo tempore profugus effectus est.

XXVIII. Quanta regi Redwaldo Ethelfridus rex pro Edwini regis nece obtulerit, sed reginæ monitis rex apposito inflexus est.

XXIX. Quomodo et ubi Edwinus regem Ethelfridum prævenerit, et ubi interfectus sit.

XXX. Quo tempore vel quanta diuturnitate Edwinus sancti Oswaldi avunculus regnaverit, et de operibus ipsius et filiis, et a quo peremptus sit.

XXXI. Quid toto tempore regis Edwini progenies Ethelfridi regis exulaverit, et pars nonnulla ibidem fidem perceperit.

XXXII. De Eanfrido rege et Osrico, qui post mortem sancti regis Edwini regnaverunt et regnum Northamhimbrorum in duo diviserunt.

XXXIII. Quomodo reges fidem deseruerunt et a Deo merito sunt derelicti.

XXXIV. Quali vel quam celeri ultione reges apostantes Deus perdi permisit et deleri.

XXXV. De Cedwalla rege Britonum qui apostata fuit, quem sanctus Oswaldus delevit.

XXXVI. Quantum sanctus Oswaldus regno accreverit finesque regni sui dilatando ampliavit.

XXXVII. Quantum sanctus Oswaldus tempore regni sui sit reveritus et ab omnibus timori habitus.

XXXVIII. Quomodo sanctus Oswaldus in fines australes venerit, regemque Saxonum a baptismate susceperit.

XXXIX. Quo anno Dominicæ incarnationis sanctus Oswaldus sit natus, et quomodo cronica diversæ supputationis in ipso inveniri possint.

XL. Quo anno beatus rex Oswaldus martyrium sustinuit, et de exilii ipsius tempore, necnon de diversæ illius ætatis supputatione.

XLI. De rege Oswiu fratre sancti Oswaldi, qui ei successit, quanta pertulerit.

XLII. Qualiter sanctus Columba sancto regi Oswaldo apparuit, et eum in suos hostes progredi præceperit.

XLIII. Ubi corpus beati Oswaldi sepultum sit, et quomodo per custodum incuriam de Bardeney omnia pene illius ossa furata sunt, et quanta ibi remanserint, quamve virtutis efficaciam erga febrium miseriam hactenus miraculose obtinuerint.

XLIV. Quanta fragrantia suavitatis de reliquiis sancti Oswaldi martyris emanaverit.

Book II.

XLV. De prologo compendioso in aliud opus, quomodo de sancto Oswaldo scriptor affectum hujus commenti conceperit, et ad laudem et gloriam victoriosi regis et martyris Oswaldi studii prima fundamenta provexerit.

XLVI. De libello alio in honorem gloriosi regis et martyris Oswaldi edito, de nobili stemate ejusdem incliti regis et de vita illius et conversatione, de eventu et fine, et de reliquiarum ejus humatione.

XLVII. De brachiis sancti Oswaldi, manibus ejusdem incorruptis, quæ Bebbe regina sustulit, et quomodo in civitate regia reposuerit.

XLVIII. De brachio dextero apud Bamburth furato, et ad ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Burth translato, sed multo honore apud indigenas exaltato.

XLIX. Quomodo sancti Oswaldi venerabile caput ad sancti Cuthberti sepulcrum ipso revelato delatum sit, et qualiter de Bamburch raptum fuerit et mirifice in sacri pontificis sepulcro fuerit collocatum.

L. De forma beati Oswaldi et pulcritudinis elegantia, de specie ejus et figura, sicut in veteribus linguæ Anglicæ libris reperitur, quod verbo in verbum sicut potuimus in Latinum transtulimus.

LI. De qualitate et forma venerandi capitis regis et martyris Oswaldi, qualiter illud sit formatum, quomodo in prælio vulneratum, et quantæ portionis pretium in beati Cuthberti sepulcro sit repositum.

LII. Typica eorundem significatio, qualiter ad allegoriam mystice referri valeant, et quomodo theologice cælestia arcana satis mirifice et evidenter patefaciendo præsignent.

LIII. De qualitate et forma brachii sancti regis et martyris Oswaldi, et de sacræ illius dexteræ integritate et incorruptione.

LIV. De eorundem mysterio typice intelligendo, qualiter ea quæ in incliti regis et martyris brachio considerantur ipsius admirandis operibus et signis et prodigiis sub typo possint decentissime referri.

LV. De argumento satis approbabili quomodo annum Dominicæ incarnationis cum sancti Cuthberti transitu poterimus sine errore reperire, et sancti Oswaldi annum depositionis similiter invenire.

LVI. De deferentia annorum sancti Oswaldi et sancti Cuthberti, et quam caput sancti Oswaldi non tanto tempore terra servat abditum, sed multo prius tempore honorificatum.

Book III

LVII. De libro de vita et miraculis sancti et gloriosissimi regis et martyris Oswaldi, sicut in libro ecclesiastico gentis Anglorum continetur a beato Beda edito.

LVIII. Qualiter de ligno crucis quam contra barbaros erexerat, quidam a dolore brachii sit curatus.

LIX. Quomodo rex episcopo quem a Scottis impetraverat sedem episcopalem in insula Lindisfarnensi donaverit, et quomodo interpres verbi cælestis exstiterit.

LX. De religione ac pietate regis Oswaldi, et ut juxta votum Aidani episcopi manus ejus dextera incorrupta nunc usque gloriose perduret.

LXI. Qualiter in loco occisionis ejus, inter crebra sanitatum miracula, jumentum cujusdam viantis curatum sit, ac deinde puella paralytica sit curata.

LXII. Qualiter pulvis loci occisionis ejus contra ignem valuerit.

LXIII. Qualiter super reliquias ejus lux cælitus emissa apud Bardneie nocte tota steterit.

LXIV. Qualiter per pulverem quo lavacrum ejus reliquiarum effusum est demoniaci sint curati.

LXV. Ut ad tumbam illius parvulus a gravissimo febrium languore sit curatus.

LXVI. Quam inter verba orationis vitam finierit et oraverit pro animabus exercitus sui.

LXVII. Qualiter in Hybernia scolasticus quidam per reliquias ejus a mortis articulo sit revocatus.

LXVIII. Qualiter natalitius dies sancti Oswaldi regis et martyris divinitus celebrari mandatus est.

Cap. I.

Incipit libellus in honorem Sancti Oswaldi editus de nobili stemmate ejusdem gloriosi regis et martyris, et de vita illius et conversatione et fine, et de reliquiarum ipsius humatione, et de his quæ a viris veridicis tradita sunt et probata.

The virtues of Oswald an inexhaustible theme.

Veteres cælestis depositi thesauros libet effodere, in quibus nosse poterimus cælestium pigmentorum aromata emanando ebullire. Fodiamus igitur studio pietatis, et quam citius poterimus discretionis naribus pertingere ad odorem notitiæ veritatis. Nec aliunde quam Oswaldo nostro sumamus veridicæ locutionis exordium, sicut excerpere poterimus de discretis membranulis et multimodis historiarum, Oswaldus etenim noster floret ut palma virtutis, redolet sicut rosa dulcedinis, splendetque sicut gemma perspicuæ et perinæ claritatis. Palma virtutis est ex martyrii corona per triumphum; rosa dulcedinis ex rubricante unda sui sanguinis per sacræ passionis suæ excidium; gemma perinæ claritatis patet omnibus per generosæ nobilitatis exemplum. Siquidem Oswaldus noster de regio semine descendit, sicut stemma ipsius nobilitatis satis sufficienter ostendit. De illa etenim generosa stirpe processit, de qua totius Angliæ fontis origo profluxit. Anno nimirum ab incarnatione Domini quingentesimo quadragesimo septimo, ab adventu vero Anglorum in Angliam, quando videlicet Horsa et Hengest tribus advecti navibus venerunt, anno nonagesimo octavo, Ida primus rex ex Anglis cœpit regnare in Northamhimbrorum provincia, a quo primitus omnis ejusdem provinciæ regum primæva cœpit origo. Venerat etenim eodem anno prædictus Ida, comite patre suo Eoppa, cum quadraginta navibus ad Flamburge; indeque progrediens, et postmodum boreales plagas occupans, ibidem regnavit

His ancestry.
A.D. 547.
Ida the first king of Northumbria.

Chr. E 547 primus XII. annis. Iste Ida construxit villam regiam de Bambrught, et circumdedit eam prius sepe, postea muro, et habuit ex regina sex filios,[a] quorum ista sunt nomina, Adda, Ethelricus, Teodericus, Ethricus, Theoteri, Osmerus. Sed alios sex ex concubina habuit, quorum nomina auctoritas historica intitulavit — Ogg, Alricum, Eccam, Osbaldum, Scor et Steotheri. Ida vero mortuo, Elle in regno Deirorum successit; Adda vero filius Idæ tantum regnum Berniciorum suscepit. Elle vero iste rex de semine Idæ non descendit, sed tamen ex Woden, de quo Ida originem traxit, et ipse Elle originaliter effluxit. Elle igitur post Idæ mortem regnavit in Deira, Adda vero successit Idæ patri suo. Regnum Deirorum antiquitus erat de flumine Humbre usque Tinæ principii alveum; Berniciorum autem de Tinæ exordio usque in Scotwad, quod in Scottorum lingua Forth nominatur, dilatabat simul terminum et ambitum. Quicquid vero inter Tine vel Tesam flumina exstitit, sola heremi vastitudo tunc temporis fuit, et idcirco nullius ditioni servivit, eoque sola indomitorum et silvestrium animalium spelunca et habitatio fuit. Adda octo annis regnavit in Bernicia; post hunc Clappa uno anno; post eum Hussa VII. annos; post quem Fridwulf VII. annos, Theodericus VII., Ethelricus quatuor. Quibus rex octavus Ethelfridus, filius Ethelrici, filii Idæ, viginti quatuor annis in Bernicia regnum tenens successit, qui primus in fructu seminis octavum repperit beatitudinis, qui in trono divinæ prædestinationis postmodum per martyrii palmam inter viginti quatuor seniores æternæ recepit bravium remunerationis. Nempe hic Ethelfridus rex Berniciorum Accam duxit filiam Elle regis Deirorum, de qua pignus cæleste genuit, quæ et Oswaldum regem et martyrem pro-

Ida's successors.

Apoc. iv. 4.

Ethelfrid, Ida's grandson, was the father of Oswald.

[a] All that is here said about Ida and his sons agrees nearly word for word with the corresponding passage in the Libellus *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* (Surtees ed. of Symeon, p. 209).

creavit. Septem itaque filios habuit Eanfridum, Oswaldum, Oswium, Oslac, Oswudu, Osaf, Offa, quorum duo primi, Eanfridus et Oswaldus, de regis Elle filia fuerunt; cæteri vero de concubinis procedebant. Sed ut de progenitoribus beati Oswaldi altius cognoscamus, de ipsius genealogiæ serie nunc profusiori eloquio compendiosius contexamus. Pater igitur ipsius Ethelfridus rex Berniciorum exstitit, qui Ethelrico regi, filio Idæ secundo, successit.

Cap. II.

De qua Anglorum progenie mater Sancti Oswaldi processerit, et de quibus regum natalibus ipsa orta fuerit, et ubi ipsa cum Sancto Oswaldo et fratribus ejus fidem susceperit.

Oswald's mother, Acca.

Sed quia jam nunc diximus quid habuit commune cum cæteris, jam nunc quoque subjiciamus quid gerat speciale de singulis. Oswaldus rex illustrissimus utroque parente est de semine regali progenitus. Mater enim ipsius Acca, regina Berniciorum, filia viro Elle regis Deirorum extitit, cujus prosapia de hac genealogia originem duxit. Anno ab incarnatione Domini quingentesimo sexagesimo, Elle rex cœpit in provincia Northamhimbrorum regnare, et post Idam regem primus regnum Deirorum possidere. Hic Edwinum regem et martyrem genuit, quem hæredem regni superstitem dereliquit, et Accam filiam, ipsius Edwini sororem, de eadem conjuge generavit. Sed ut altius videamus nobilitatem ipsius martyris Sancti Oswaldi generis, aliquanto subtilius discutiamus etiam ipsius originem dignitatis. Elle pater ejus ita duxit originem, sicut inferius ostensuri sumus, compendiosum generationis per sermonem. De tali prosapia Sancti Oswaldi mater est progenita, quæ est Acca nominata. Porro Elle iste pater ejus exstitit, de quo sanctus Gregorius alludens

A.D. 560. Reign of Elle, the father of Acca and Edwin.

This was the Elle referred to in the story about

nomen dixit, "Bene," inquit, "Elle vocatur rex ille, "quia in laudem Creatoris oportet Alleluia illis in "partibus decantando parare." Hic triginta annis completis obiit, et Edwinum filium, Accæ videlicet fratrem, regni superstitem dereliquit. Ethelfridus ergo Sancti Oswaldi pater, Berniciorum rex, licet sororem Edwini regis Deirorum uxorem habuerit, tamen gloriæ cupidus eum regno pepulit, et aliquamdiu pro eo regnavit. Qui, exulans apud regem Redwaldum Britonum, multi honoris ab eo percepit beneficium. Tandem consilio Redwaldi fretus, et auxilio innumeræ multitudinis, collegit exercitum, et regem Ethelfridum interficiens, Redwaldus Edwinum regno restituit Deirorum, quod ipse Edwinus rex septemdecim annis regnando disposuit, et postea martyrio coronatus vitæ terminum consummavit, et sic cælestis palmæ victoriam a Domino percepit. Qui regni restitutionem, quoad vixit, tam regnum Deiorum quam Berniciorum, primus obtinuit. Nempe occiso Ethelfrido filii ipsius una cum matre fugam inierunt, et apud Scotiam toto tempore regni ipsius Edwini patrui ipsorum latuerunt. Ubi Oswaldus bonæ indolis adolescens piæ matris suæ doctrinam suscepit, et doctrinam fidei in lavacrum convertit. Nimirum quicquid bonitatis ex disciplina Scottorum audire potuerat, pro exemplo prius religiosæ conversationis habebat. Ibi ergo peregrinationis tempore et linguam Scottorum perfecte didicit, et fidei documenta, quæ prius a matre Christiana perceperat, gentis illius credulæ eruditione solidavit, et lavacro sacri baptismatis purificatus, veteris vitæ piaculis perfecte abdicando renunciavit. At Edwino rege patruo suo a Cedwalla rege Britonum et Penda rege Merciorum interfecto, primogenitus Ethelfridi regis Eanfridus de Scottorum exilio rediit, et regnum patris Berniciorum, sed solummodo anno uno, possidendo obtinuit. Quo post annum occiso, Sanctus Oswaldus, in filiis natu secundus, ei successit, sed non tantum Berniciorum vel Deirorum, sed etiam Pictorum et Scot-

Pope Gregory and the English boys.

Edwin wins the crown of Northumbria.

A.D. 633. Death of Edwin.

Oswald becomes king.

torum sibi regni imperia subjugavit, et Deiram et Berniciam in unius regni unionem compaginavit. Quæ regna omnibus diebus suis tenuit, et rudibus populis circumquaque subditis, prædicante verbum Dei Aidano, interpres in linguis quas ante didicerat multis diebus extitit.

Cap. III.

De qua regum nobilitate sibi sponsam duxerit, et quomodo patrem puellæ de baptismatis susceperit fonte, et sancto Birino sedem episcopatus dederit.

Oswald marries the daughter of Kynegils, who is baptized at the same time.

Beatus igitur Oswaldus, sicut ex prænobili progenie originem duxit, ita et sibi de genealogia nobili conjugem copulavit. Nam ut ad ejus progeniem attingamus, Ceolricus rex Westsaxonum sex annis regnavit; Ceolwulf viginti quatuor; post hos frater utrorumque Kinegulsus.[a] Hunc Kinegulsum suscepit rex Northanhimbrorum Oswaldus de baptismo exeuntem, cujus filiam ipse Oswaldus ducturus erat. Qui Kinegulsus tres fratres habuit, qui reges Westsaxoniæ fuerunt; filiamque fratris sui, videlicet regis Kynegulsi, Oswaldo regi ob sui generis nobilitatem dederunt. Non enim volebat gloriosus rex Oswaldus infidelis divitis, licet et regis nobilis, filiam accipere, nisi prius Dei dispositione et ipsius sedula admonitione patrem illius, quam ducturus erat, posset Domino adquirendo de diaboli jugo eripere. Unde pater puellæ, cedens beati Oswaldi monitis et sancti Birini verbo prædicationis, ab eodem Birino est in præsentia regis Oswaldi baptizatus, et ab ipso Oswaldo, exiens de baptismatis unda, susceptus. Unde satis perpulcro spectaculo contigit, ut Oswaldus

Bed. iii. 7.

[a] Kynegils was the nephew, not the brother of Ceolwulf; see Sax. Chron. 611.

puellæ patris in Christo patrinus existeret, et cujus filiam habuit, sibi in Christo filiolum procrearet. Hunc Birinum, virum sanctum, venerandus papa Honorius in Angliæ partes ad prædicandum verbum fidei direxerat, qui hunc regem Kynegulsum rege
Bed., *loc. cit.* astante Oswaldo baptizabat. Donaverunt igitur ambo reges, Kynegulsus et Oswaldus, sancto Birino Dorcic ad sedem episcopii; ibique constructis ecclesiis sepultus est, et post multos annos, Cedde episcopatum agente, translatus est in Wentam, id est, Wincestre, et in ecclesia beati Petri positus. Oswaldus denique, cum novem annis regnasset, internumerato anno regum apostatarum, occisus est a Penda strenuo,[a] commisso Oswald slain at Maserfeld.
Henr. Hunt iii. 39. gravi prælio apud Maserfeld, anno ætatis suæ tricesimo octavo, die quinto mensis Augusti. Unde dicitur, "Campus Maserfeld sanctorum canduit ossibus." Oswaldus itaque moriens hæredem regni Oswium fratrem suum habuit, qui Pendam regem Merciorum per annos triginta regnantem occidit. Cui Peada filius Pendæ successit, sed permodico tempore regnum tenere prævaluit. Nempe Oswin, eo expugnato, tribus annis regnum Merciorum tenuit; sed postmodum Walterius filius Peadæ contra regem Oswin repugnavit, tandemque regnum patrum, id est, Merciorum adipisci promeruit.

Cap. IV., V., VI., VII.[b]

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[a] *Penda strenuo.* This epithet the writer appears to have borrowed from Henry of Huntingdon.

[b] There is a great deal of repetition in these chapters, and they do not contain a single fact not to be found in Beda or Henry of Huntingdon; they are therefore omitted.

Cap. VIII.

Quod non animum lectoris offendere debeat quod audit aperte sanctum Oswaldum de gente pagana venisse, odoriferum florem de spineta pullulare.

Ecce hactenus habitus sermo de generosa sancti Oswaldi regis progenie peroravit, qui ipsius nobilitatem generis satis nobis luculenter elucidando explanavit. In quibus sermo incultior non displiceat cum historica relationis series, non nisi nudam litteræ simplicitatem requirat. Nec offendat lectoris animum quod de gente pagana primævum genealogiæ traxit exordium. Rubus nimirum qui spinetarum ruderibus obsidetur rosæ quandoque redolenti dulcedine gloria decoratur. Et granum quod sine macula seritur non sine paleæ tegmine ad ortus novalia profertur. Nec olei liquor purissimus prelo emulgente eliquatus educitur, nisi prius ab amurca spurcissima separando educatur. Sic nimirum, sic Oswaldus noster, de spineto paganæ gentis velut florens rosa educitur, de palea spurcitiæ abjectionis candidissimi farris similis progignitur, de amurca reprobi seminis ut vinum dulcifluæ puritatis eliquatur. Nec miraculi igitur stuporem parturit, si Dei operantis gratia de reprobis progenitoribus vas electionis cælitus separando efficit. Sed ut ad hæc alia repetamus exempla, Abraham de Ur Caldeorum electus terram supernæ remunerationis divinæ promissionis munere sortitur. Moyses de Egyptiorum tenebrosis sordibus virtutis prædicator erigitur. Loth etiam de Sodomorum urbibus solus peculiari miseratione eligitur Nec difficili exemplo Oswaldus noster de incendiis vitiorum et fornace ferrea iniquitatis velut aurum examinatum educitur, de paganismi conversatione reproba conversationis [sanctæ] dux, preco, et minister erigitur, de unitæ pravitatis et perversitatis versutia, quod est nequitia occulta, in laudem prædicationis et

confessionis, divino cælitus pignore muneris subarante, fidei gratia Christo copulatur. Tantoque apud Deum potioris gloriæ donativum possidet, quo minus de progenitoribus suis atavis formam Christianæ imitationis traduxisse non valet. Quod enim de malo in boni imitatione degenerat pretiosius est cæteris et præstantius, quia alios sui sequaces bonitatis suæ imitabili emulatione inflammat, provocat, et informat.

Cap. IX.

De regibus qui ante et post sanctum Oswaldum regnaverunt, et quomodo se invicem occiderunt, et insectatores ejus quomodo interierunt, et qua quem crucem erexit.

Tangamus hic a sancti Oswaldi patris tempore aliquod exordium juxta fidem historiarum, et de regibus succedentibus quod ad hoc opus attinuerit compingamus manuale compendium. Postquam sanctus Augustinus Angliam venit, tunc sancti Oswaldi pater rex Ethelfridus Brogmail apud Leicestriam vicit, ubi monachi de quibus sanctus Beda scribit occisi sunt. Postea Cadwanus cis Humbram regnans Edwinum sancti Oswaldi sororium nutrivit, cum Cadwallone filio suo; deinde cum uterque regnaret vicit rex Adwinus Cadwallonem, et fugavit in Armonicam. Cadwallo tandem cum multis copiis revertens vicit prius Pendam regem Merciorum et sibi univit, a quo postea sanctus Edwinus et rex Eanfridus, sancti Oswaldi frater primogenitus qui ei in regno præcessor fuit, et Osricus rex Edwini nepos et successor occisi sunt. Penda vero rex Merciorum occidit sanctum Oswaldum. Oswin autem frater sancti Oswaldi occidit Pendam. Hic Cadwallo de quo diximus, cum quadraginta octo annis regnasset, sepelitur ad portam Lundoniæ juxta templum Sancti Martini in imagine ænea super equum æneum. Tandem Cadwal-

ladarus regnavit pro eo, quem sanctus Beda Cedwallam vocat, qui fuit filius Cadwallonis et sororis Pendæ. Tunc veniente peste sævissima fugit in Armoniam, ad regem Alanum Solomonis nepotem; Angli vero venientes a Germania terras peste vacuatas possederunt. Cedwalladrus autem rex ivit Romam non reversurus. Exinde Britannia et nomen et regnum penitus amiserunt. Prædictus itaque Cedwalla rex paganus fuit, adversus cujus exercitum et ipsum sanctus Oswaldus crucis vexillum extulit et superavit.

Cap. X.

De rerum abundantia et pestilentia sancti Oswaldi tempore subsecuta, et quomodo angelis ei apparentibus ob ejus merita tam populus quam ipse de morte fuerat erutus.

Denique quia multa Dei miracula in sancto Christi martyre Oswaldo per singula loca terrarum effulsisse cognovimus, quoddam præclarum miraculum de eo subscribamus. Quod tum ipso adhuc in vita præsenti degente actum legimus, in sequentibus planius exponemus. Beatissimo igitur rege Oswaldo regnum tenente, cœpit fidei gratia per multa virtutum insignia efficaciter sub sui imperii temporibus efflorere. Nempe ob ipsius præclaræ sanctitatis merita Dei misericordia ipsius regni terminos profusius dilatavit, patria ei subdita fidei lumine dotata resplenduit. Unde omnibus sibi subditis rerum cunctarum opulentia succrevit, et in uberioribus omnium rerum fructibus admiranda bonitatis copia emanavit. Paupertas his diebus in Anglorum finibus pæne ignota erat, eo quod terra ejus esset nimis opulenta, agricolantium multis millenis fructibus innumerose redunda. Ipse etiam neminem fidelem esse pauperem publice pertulit, quia pauperum quos noverat inediam, vel prædiis ditissimis vel donis uberrimis copi-

osissime sustentare curavit. Igitur cum ita sibi subditis operam dilectionis Dei gratia impenderet, Dei dispensatione contigit, ut flagellis nuper credentium fidem experiendo comprobare eligeret. Immissa igitur per terram Anglorum circumquaque gravi admodum pestilentia, plurimi strage sævissima perierunt, multi vero pro merito fidei regna cælestia conscenderunt. Cum itaque rex sanctus populo sibi subdito divinæ animadversionis judicium imminere conspiceret, cœpit sæpius illacrimando anxius existere, et querulis nimis vocibus et gemitibus hoc Dei flagellum suis maxime peccatis ascribere, "Ego sum," inquiens, "qui peccavi, ego inique "egi, isti qui oves sunt, quid meruerunt? In me, Domine, "et in domo mea gladius tuæ ultionis convertatur, si "tum mea vel meorum hoc iniquitas commeretur." Cum precibus igitur et lacrimis diutius insisteret, subito Dei dispensatione contigit ut ipsum regem ejusdem pestilentiæ genere castigandum atque emendatiorem faciendum corriperet. Voluit quidem divina dispensatio vas suæ electionis ab omni labe terrenæ conversationis ad purum emundare, ne in corpore ejus aut pectore aliquid posset vanitatis vel mundanæ elationis piaculum impunitum superfluæ residere. Rex igitur piissimus acerbo infirmitatis dolore correptus totus obpalluit, et toto corpore obrigescere cœpit. Multisque diebus gravissimis doloribus afflictus duplici cœpit mœrore [se] lacessere, et gemino anxietatis labore desudare. Mœrebat enim animo quod nobiliores quosque regni sub misera videbat festinatione decedere, contristaturque inedicibili pusillanimitate, quod corporis omnimoda debilitate compellebatur vires excedere. Cucurritque gelidus per ossa tremor, et intestina ejus devorabat pæne intolerabilis ardor. Ad extrema itaque sic deductus cœpit jam jamque quasi moribundus æstuando et deficiendo palpitare. Convocatisque sibi quibusque familiaribus et amicis, cœpit eis cuncta exponere, et diem sui exitus eis præ nimia doloris angustia

A pestilence in Northumbria.

Oswald is stricken down.

imminere prædixit. Clamor cunctorum ad sidera manibus complosis attollitur, et lacrimis ubertim per ora defluentibus tota aula regia desolationum gemitibus stridulis adimpletur. Tandem sacris pontificibus et sacerdotibus consulentibus et Dei misericordiam jugiter exorantibus, sacri corporis Domini eukarista defertur, et rex sacer dominicis sacramentis devotissime præmunitur. Omni igitur pæne spiritus vigore deficiente, vixque anima in anhelo, ut putabatur, pectore subsidente, oculorum lumina cœpit in cælos erigere, et quasi colloquendo quibusdam labia quandoque medullitus commovere. Intellectuales quidem ipsius oculi, sicut sacris episcopis postmodum referre solitus erat, una cum corporalibus ita ab omni fantasmate detecti fuerant, quod etiam angelicos quosdam spiritus præclaro contuitu assistere prævidebat. De quorum numero tres ad se propiando descenderant, et consolantes eum multiplici dulcedine refovebant. Tandem sic exorsi dixerunt: "Oswalde," inquiunt, "rex Dei electissime, noli ulterius jam mortis "horrorem pertimescere; noster enim collega concors in "cælo reputaris, et peracto vitæ termino nostro collegio "adjiciendus eris. Non tamen nec in isto moriturus es "tempore, nec hujus pestilentiæ ulterius feriendus acer-"bitate. Christus quidem tuæ desolationis angustias "miseratus, ob tuis sacris precibus et omnem populum "Anglorum de istius cladis peste absolutum liberavit, "vitæque tuæ tot annos indulgenter adjecit. Et qui-"dem te martyrio finiendum instituit, nobisque amodo "tam viventis quam morientis tui custodiam delega-"vit." Diemque et horam martyrii sui ei præstituerunt, eosque tunc temporis sibi occursuros asseruerunt. Radiabat eorum facies supra solis splendidissimam claritatem, formamque eorum verbis explanare rex non potuit ob admirabilis gloriæ dignitatem. Quibus peractis cæli cives in superni solii secreta se recipiunt, et Dei aspectibus se exhibuerunt. Rexque sanctus statim his auditis convaluit, nec ulterius toto vitæ

A vision of angels.

The king recovers.

suæ tempore fines Anglorum ulla cladis miseria perturbare præsumpsit. Exinde igitur se in omnibus Deo et hominibus emendatiorem præbuit, et vitæ suæ exitum cum gaudio expectavit. Omnesque vitæ præteritæ vanitates mentis devotione transcendit, et elemosinis et lacrimis anteactas negligentias continue et quotidie redimere procuravit. Hæc de vetustissimo hoc Anglico interprete exponente transtulimus, et Latinis auribus amodo notius clarere delegimus.

Cap. XI.

Qualem sibi inclytus rex Oswaldus sponsam acceperit, et quali fine decesserit, pudicitiæ honestatem quantum dilexerit.

Et quia, rege sancto Dei flagellis castigato, quicquid hactenus in aliquo excessit totum sedule emendare curavit, factum est ut Kyneburgam sponsam suam, regis Kynegulsi filiam, post hanc visionis gloriam ab unius thori communione sejungeret, et deinceps castitatis illibatæ munditiam conservaret. Prius tamen de ea sobolem procreaverat, quem unicum tantum in terra filium possidebat. Illa vero quam mirabili conversatione illius admonita, sese cœpit tam moribus quam operibus emendare. Tandem, agente et suadente Ostrilda regina Merciorum, Oswin regis filia, cujus vir erat rex Ethelredus, monachata est et sancto fine consummata. Hujus reginæ etiam industria, quæ fratris sancti Oswaldi erat filia, ossa sancti Oswaldi inventa in carro posita usque in ecclesiam de Bardney sunt translata.

Oswald married Kyneburga daughter of Kynegils:

by whom he had one son.

Kyneburga takes the veil.

Cap. XII.

Ubi locus ille sit ubi sanctus Oswaldus in morte procubuit, et quomodo Pendam fugaverit in Armonia, qualiterque regnum ejus prius illi direptum abstulerit.

Maserfeld is near Shrewsbury.

Itaque campus in quo sanctus Oswaldus occiditur Maserfeld nuncupatur. Est itaque locus iste conterminus finibus Armonicæ Waliæ , quod Waliæ quondam pars maxima dicta est Armonica. A civitate etiam Salesburiensi[a] septem ferme milibus versus eandem Waliam dissidet, territoriumque ipsum abbatis illius urbis ditioni cedit. In cujus campi fundo ecclesia, quæ Candida Ecclesia dicitur, in sancti Oswaldi honore fundatur. In loco non longe ab ipso fons perennis exoritur, qui sancti Oswaldi fons ab incolis illius gentis nominatur. Et in ripa fonticuli arbor pergrandis radicari cernitur; sub umbra cujus culminis pæne tota fontis amœnitas contegi videtur. Nam non longe inde, ubi nunc arbor nascitur, caput sancti Oswaldi cum manibus per annum integrum stipitibus qui in patria ex parte habentur adhuc infixa fuerunt. Sanctus nimirum Oswaldus regnum Merciorum sibi subdiderat, et regem Pendam paganum in Armonicam Waliam fugam inire compulerat. Qui ibi sibi pluribus paganorum cœtibus aggregatis, in loco quo diximus, regi Christiano cum funesto satellite occurrit et interemit. Inde legitur quod corpus sanctum fratres de Bardeney Bed. iii. 11. nolebant excipere, quia, etsi sanctum eum noverant, tamen quia et de alia provincia ortus fuerat, et super eos regnum acceperat, veteranis eum odiis etiam mortuum insequebantur.

[a] A mistake for *Scrobesburiensi*.

Cap. XIII.

Quibus miraculis sancti Oswaldi caput de humo sit elatum, et ubi postea longo tempore collocatum.

Verum, capite sancti Oswaldi per tempus aliquod in cimiterio Lindisfarnensi humato, cœpit Dei gratia ejus sanctitatis declarare magnalia, et virtutis magficare insignia. Nempe sæpius et frequentius in cimiterio, super sepulcrum ubi venerandum caput requievit, aliqua ut lucerna, quandoque ut candida forma aliqua, nec sicut candela, tumulo superposita, modo nitida velut tela, lux cælitus dispensata refulsit. A longe videntibus sic comparuit; cominus vero accedentibus mox evanescere cœpit. Multotiens vero instar pyramidis ignino more videbatur exsurgere, quandoque sicut ardens facula sublucere, quandoque in modum contunsæ nivis superius infundi, sed calore vel palpatione adhibita, statim dissolutum adprivari. Quod dum ab ipsius regiis parentibus satis esset agnitum, et ab incolis insulæ sæpius approbatum, caput illud venerabile per parentes regii seminis de sepulcro sublatum est, et in civitate regia Bambrugh per annos plurimos honorifice locatum est. Progenie vero illius temporis per mortis compendium decedente, cœpit fidei gratia a fervore tepescere; et sic beato martyri minus obsequium devotionis exsolvere. Unde, sancto martyre ordinante, Christus locum ipsum tantis pignoribus privatum destituit, et sacratissimas sui regis reliquias ad loca alia transferri fecit.

The head of St. Oswald; its miraculous virtue

Its removal from Bamborough.

Cap. XIV.

Quomodo vel ubi Penda rex sanctum Oswaldum regem immunitum præcluserit, vel ubi ipse locus sit in quo eum occiderit.

Æterna Christi munera sunt sanctorum Dei magnifica et operosa magnalia, in quibus mirabilis prædicatur, quia in eis magna mirifice operatur; quorum memoriam nec temporis vetustas sepelit, nec favilla oblivionis exterit, sed neque fucus longævitatis obducit. Quem sancto suo martyre Oswaldo cunctis innotescere consuevit, ad præmii proprii gloriam, et ob illius sanctitatis memoriam pluribus latius prædicandam. De quorum numero illud condigne extollitur, quod in nostris etiam diebus de retroacti temporis gestis ipsius mirabilibus quotidie innovatur. Campus nimirum in quo gloriosus martyr occubuit, in conterminis Anglorum et Walensium finibus positus, adhuc sancti viri merita continue prodigiis et miraculis novis ostendit. Ecclesia siquidem in loco ipsius excidii ad illius nominis honorem fabricatur quæ *alba ecclesia*[1] ab incolis gentium nominatur. In quo loco decollatus martyrium subiit, et venerandum caput ipsius una cum sacris et incorruptis manibus ob derisionis opprobrium in stipitibus per annum integrum infixum fuit. Ipse enim regem Pendam paganum in Waliæ partibus fugam quærere compulit, et sic ibi securus residens exercitum suum quem habuerat a se dimisit. Sancto igitur Oswaldo ibi securius residente, et nil adversitatis ingruendum metuente, ex improviso cum exercitu pagano Penda supervenit, et sanctum regem belli funere prævenire sategit. Sed vir Dei, qui militiæ erat hactenus probitate laudabilis, fugiendi consilium noluit arripere, ne videretur fuisse vir in acie construenda indocilis. Turpe ergo vide-

Oswald surprised by Penda at Maserfeld (Oswestry).

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[1] Or Blancminster; see Leland *Itin.* v. 37.

batur ei in fine inveniri devictus et improperiosus, qui omnibus videbatur hactenus bello strenuus et militia victoriosus. Convocata itaque modica admodum militum manu, cœpit Christo sese committere, et pro Domini honore et fide crucis, gentisque suæ Christianæ salute et ereptione, velle libenter occumbere. Novit enim quia pro mortis suæ passione æternæ vitæ beatitudo sibi donaretur, prout sibi promisit in visione angelus, et quod pro pœna temporali æternæ corona gloriæ in cœlestibus ditaretur. Unde confidentius ad prælii certamina processit, quia Domini clementia se ad coronam martyrii accersiri perspexit. Penda igitur aggregata paganorum manu non modica, subito prodiit ad certaminis aream, et una cum sancto Christianissimoque rege gentem trucidavit Christianæ fidei copiosam. Campus vero ipse, qui sancti regis sacrosancto sanguine dedicari promeruit, Maserfeld hactenus nomen obtinuit. Distatque locus iste a fossa regis Offæ, quæ Angliam et Waliam borealem dividit, miliario non ferme dimidio, et Scropesbyri miliario integre septimo, ab abbatia vero Waneloc [a] versus plagam meridianam miliario circiter sextodecimo. Fossam prædictam rex quondam Offa effecerat, cujus munimine vallatus securius ab hostibus suis Walensibus commanebat. Nam suo tempore juge certamen inter illum et Walenses extitit, quod nullatenus eorum impetus vel insidias nisi hac protectione devitare prævaluit. A mari ergo usque ad mare pæne totam terram suam versus Waliam præcinxit, et fossam illam utriusque terræ terminum fore constituit.

The exact situation of Maserfeld

Offa's dyke; why made.

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[a] Much Wenlock.

Cap. XV.

Qualiter per visum rex Oswyn sit de brachio sancti Oswaldi commonitus, et quomodo cœlitus sit idem edoctus.

Oswy is commanded in a vision to recover his brother's remains.

Redeunte anni vertentis termino, Oswin fratri Oswaldi quidam in visione astitit, et taliter exorsus ait: "Vade," inquit, "citissime, et fines in quibus sanctus "frater tuus Oswaldus pro Christo martyrium passus "est adeundo perquire. Nam caput illud a Deo jam "coronatum stipiti configi diutius indignum Christi "ducit clementia. Sed et brachia cum manibus Dei "honorare disposuit providentia. Hactenus quidem "nec volatilibus cæli permisit Christus ea contingere, "vel fœdando lædere, sed neque æstatis uredini vel "frigoris horrori contulit illa a pulchritudine sua "prima vel naturali posse dejicere. Nam etiam illius "sacris artubus Conditoris elementa deserviunt, dum "nec canina heet [*sic*] eos præsumit exurere, nec ven-"torum flabra audent in eis obrigescere, nec frigoris "edacitas novit corripere, neque tinea corruptionis "invadendo perstringere. Quare illo concitus pro-"pera, et in fraterna carne Deum honorificando col-"lauda. Et hoc tibi signum. Cum illuc perveneris, "dexteram cum brachio a loco jam stipitis erutam "miraberis, sed ne inde perturberis, quia non longe "inde ea invenies in aquis viventibus, ubi tunc ipsius "meritis effluxisse jam incipiet de silice durissima fons "jugiter perennis. Hoc tamen interim proveniet, an-"tequam tua illuc præsentia perveniat, quia adhuc "extat in stipite, sed nuper futurum ut sepeliatur in "fonte." Hæc dicens heros ille disparuit, sed rex sub festinatione opus illi impositum maturare sategit.

Cap. XVI.

De habitu vel forma viri qui ei per visum astitit.

Erat vir iste amictu candidus, facie vero rutilus et rubicundus, habitu vero compositus et honestate moderata procerus, splendorque coruscus de ejus specie prodibat, ita quod vix obtutus in acies loquentis rex infigere prævalebat. Quæ postea sibi loquentibus rex referebat: et miræ fuisse jocunditatis dulcedine beatum prædicabat. Qui forte aliquis spiritus supercælestis extitit, qui in ministerium talis officii a Deo transmissus advenit. Frequenter enim, Deo ordinante, talia proveniunt quæ humanæ conscientiæ latebræ deprehendere nequeunt. Eorum quidem notitia est Dei solius providentia.

The aspect of the man who appeared to him.

Cap. XVII.

Quomodo avis permaxima brachium sancti Oswaldi de stipite sustulit, et qualiter arbor arida ad contactum ejus viruit, et quam celerem ultionem sentiat si quis de ea abstulerit.

Propere ergo rex, divino commonitus oraculo, ad locum pervenire accelerat, et quod mente conspexerat oculis corporeis providere anxius æstuabat. Quo deveniens, sanctum caput penitus illæsum cum brachio manuque sinistra de stipitibus sustulit, sed pro absentia manus dexteræ cum brachio aliquanto dolore congemuit. Attamen de oraculo reminiscens, diffidere de futura rei certitudine non potuit, quia divina dispositio fallaciam deludere, et non fallendo quemquam decipere novit. Mira tamen Dei dispositione, ut visio oraculi rei gerendæ conveniret effectui, ante regis Oswin adventum, ales permaxima, olim in partibus illis tantæ quantitatis invisa, comparuit, quæ et manum dexteram de stipite cum brachio sustulit, et cum tanti

Visiting the place Oswy finds that a great bird has carried off the right arm.

pretii præda ad vicini loci arborem cum reverentia convolavit. Eratque ales ipsa, ut putabatur, corvini gêneris; sed pro grandibus rostro et unguibus aquilarum similitudini conformis fuisse videbatur; alioquin tantæ portionem rapinæ nequaquam tolleret, nisi robore simul et corpore avis ipsa præstantissima esset. Arbor etiam ipsa fraxinus est, qui a loco illius martyrii fere dimidii stadii longitudinis abest. Nam sagittæ semel volantis itinerarium et dimidii locorum intercapedo ipsa bene comprehendit, quod idem dimidii fere stadii spatia conficiendo intercipit. At fraxinus tunc temporis veteranus extitit, et foliis decidentibus ramisque præ vetustate et senio marcescentibus squalidus et importunus videntibus cunctis apparuit. Nam neque pulchritudine vel gratia vel frondium jocundidate serena vel foliorum ubertate amœna præstitit, sed eatenus senio contabuerat et ab omni viroris pæne virtute deciderat, et fronde, folio, et cortice emarcuerat. In cujus arboris gremio, dum inter frondium fruticeta pausandi quietem quæreret, contigit ut alternas acceptando frondes, per ramos alterutros circum cursitando discurreret. Rami quidem, qui ex vetustate aruerant, sub mole tanti corporis tremula alternatione sub incurvatione rigida et varia diffluebant. Nam dum in lateris subfugio ramus se quivis inflecteret, ariditas senilis non talia sustinens, accidit ut artubus singulis murmurando infremeret, et stridula nutatione crepitaret. Sed mira Dei virtute, nunquam ex eo tempore quo avis illis insederat, arborem illam aut annosa longevitas immutabat, vel temporis brumalis severitas dejiciebat, vel fronde senio exesa laborare poterat, vel folio incanescente marcebat. Usque hodie etiam ejus coma folio ubere et viridante vestitur, frondium copia diffuse et perlate distenditur, corticisque superficies illibata conspicitur et conservatur. Quod meritis sancti martyris provenisse nemo ambigat, quia incorruptionis illius dexteræ ves-

An account of Oswald's ash tree.

tigia et signacula, arbor florida et inveterata commendat. Eodem itaque tempore arbor ipsa cœpit florere et frondescere, nec unquam postea a viroris sui et decoris amœnitate deficere. Sed et, ut accolæ indigenarum asserunt, nunquam post illud tempus illam arborem crescentem vel deficientem in deterius aliqui viderunt; sed in eodem statu jugiter perseverat, nec aliquotiens a pristina sui amœnitate illo momento percepta decidere poterat. Neque aliquis hactenus impune de frondibus illius aut foliis divellere seu distrahere poterat, quin statim ultrice pœna suæ temeritatis merita non susceperat. Unde usque in præsenti a nemine lædi præsumitur, quia pro certo quique probatum habent, quod non sine celeri et gravissima pœna expietur. Arborque ipsa sancti Oswaldi[a] fraxinus ab omni populo terræ nominatur, nec est aliquis adeo ferocis pectoris, a quo illius ramus vel folium divelli, vel inde deferri præsumatur. Multi tamen illo languentes confluunt, et vel umbra arboris, seu tactu aut gustu folii ejus vel frondis, sanitatis opem beati martyris meritis consequi consuescunt.

Cures obtained there.

Cap. XVIII.

Quomodo de silice durissima fons vivus erupit, ubi Dei providentia manus cum brachio sancti Oswaldi in terram decidit.

Igitur dum avis cum tanti rapina thesauri in quavis arboris regione subsisteret, Dei disponente contigit, ut molem illius gravaminis ales ulterius minime sustineret. Unde de ore illius præda delapsa decidit, et sacrata

The bird let the arm fall a spring gushes out at the spot where it touches the ground.

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[a] Probably this is by far the most circumstantial account to be found anywhere of the tree which gave its name to Oswestry (Oswalds-tre). It is impossible not to be reminded of another famous tree in the same county, the oak at Boscobel in which Charles II. lay hid after the battle of Worcester.

dextera cum brachio super asperæ silicis duritiem deorsum corruit. Miranda igitur Dei virtute statim ad attactum sacri brachii decidentis de saxo durissimo prorupit fons limpidissimus et perennis. Forte enim Christi clementia sancti martyris membra sacratissima alicujus duritiei rigorem sustinere in decidendo noluit, et idcirco non saxosa asperitate sed magis aquæ lenioris mollitie ea suscipienda decrevit. Nihil saxeo quidem durius rigore, sed nec aquæ extat aliquid delicatius seu mollius liquore. Quare et ejus membra sanctissima in mollitie suscipere delegit, cujus spiritum in superna dulcedine et quietis requie collocavit. Hujus igitur rei proventu locus ipse in quo fraxinus steterat saxosus et rigiditate nimia asperrimus erat, sed etiam adhuc ex aliqua parte sui perseverat, sed Dei potentia ineffabili in ipsa saxea duritie fons vivus exortus est, quasi jugiter effluere non desinit, vena perpeti et liquore limpidissimo et perenni. Igitur Oswin rex, divina virtute commonitus oraculi, ad hunc fontem processit, et sicut noctu didicit in visione, sic postmodum expletum repperit Dei miranda dispositione. Unde de aquis ipsis brachium cum manu sustulit, et sicut ei per visum jussum fuerat caput sanctissimum cum brachiis et manibus inde secum asportavit. Usque in præsenti etiam ibi Dei virtus mirifica operatur, et sancti Oswaldi meritis, illic salus ægrotis conceditur, et demoniosus adveniens liberatur, atque potu sacrati laticis multimoda infirmitas expiatur.

Curative effects of the water of this spring.

Cap. XIX.

Qua ratione sancto Oswaldo non filius regis successit, sed magis ad fratrem sancti Oswaldi regnum transiit.

At the time of Oswald's death his son was too young to be king.

Multimoda denique perscrutatione historica subnixi, satis patenter advertimus, quia filius sancti Oswaldi, cum pater ipsius obiit, infra ætatis pueritiæ infirma

constrictus fuerit: nempe cum superius historica veritate probaverimus, sanctum Oswaldum non nisi octennem regem fuisse, ipsumque jam regno florentem in Westsaxoniam advenisse, regemque cujus filiam accepturus erat in sponsam de lavacro suscepisse constat profectum, quia ante regni sui tempora filium minime procreaverit, cum prius sponsæ maritalia nulla contraxit. Absit enim ab corde fidelium, ut quisquam eum pellicis alicujus putet contigisse consortium. Non equidem talia illius sacris artubus conveniebant, cujus sacrati cordis hospitia Sancti Spiritus karismata multiformis gratiæ exundantia purificando incolebant. Perinde satis evidentius adverti potest, quia fœtus quem tempore regni edidit magis quam septennis filius omnino fuisse non potuit. Tanto quidem tempore thoro maritali perfrui poterant, sed supra id temporis metas diuturniores protraxisse nequierant. Jam ergo liquet filium illi natum septem annorum esse potuisse, et quamvis quovis ordine minoris fuisse potuerit, majoris tamen nullo tenore extitisse valuerit. Cum itaque, jam sancto patre illius mortuo, non nisi puer septem fuisse annorum potuisset; constat pro certo quia puer tam teneræ ætatis regni paterni gubernacula nec adipisci debuerit, sive sustinere vel suscepisse potuerit. Proinde arbitramur patruum illius, qui jam maturæ ætatis extitit, fratri suo successisse et regni imperia jure hæreditario possedisse. Nec mirum igitur si filius sancti Oswaldi, dum ætatis incremento robustius viguit, contra patruum pro regno reluctari contenderit. Raro quidem conspicimus aliquem velle sibi in regni culmine comparem habere consortem, et multo rarius quempiam debita imperii jura deserere, si tamen quovis ordine ad illius sedis gloriam valeat aspirare. Inde nemo miretur si iste desiderio appetiit, quod sibi ex debito convenire jure dictante conspexit.

Hence Oswy, Oswald's brother, was naturally preferred.

CAP. XX.[a]

CAP. XXI.

De qua progenie sanctus Ceowlfus rex prodierit, et quantum regnavit, et de desolatione ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensis, et vindicta, et quomodo sanctus Ceowlfus monachos cereviseam bibere fecerit.

On king Ceolwulf, who became a monk and allowed beer to the monks of Lindisfarne.

Porro sciendum quod beatus Ceowlfus rex de eodem quidem trunco qui sit ex prima generatione descendit, non tamen de eadem stirpe de qua Oswaldus rex linealem originem duxit. Hic nimirum Ceowlfus de stirpe quidem Idæ primi regis Northanhimbrorum fuerat, sed non de filio ejus Ethelrico rege, de quo gloriosissimi reges Oswaldus et Oswiu descenderant, genealogiam duxit, sed de fratre ipsius Ethelrici, Ogga nomine, originem traxisse invenitur. Fuerat quippe Ceowlfus filius Cuthæ, cujus pater Cuthwine, cujus Chr. A., 731. pater Liodwald, cujus pater Ecgwald, cujus pater Aldhelm, cujus pater Ogga, cujus pater Ida rex. Duo- Ante, p. 40. decim namque filios habuit Ida, ex quibus reges Northumbriæ exorti sunt, qui sunt Addas, Ethelricus, Teodericus, Edricus, Theuderi, Osmer, Alricus, Ecca, Oswaldus, Scor, Sceotheri, Ogga, ex cujus progenie fratres, ambo reges, Coenred et Ceowlfus processerant. Regnare vero post fratrem suum cœpit Ceowlfus anno Dominicæ incarnationis septingentesimo vicesimo nono, pontificatus vero Ethelwoldi quinto, post annos un- Chr. E. 729. decim peractos in regno Northanhimbrorum Osrici regis, Alfrici regis filii. Qui quum studiis liberalibus erat imbutus, ejus diligentiam legendi et audiendi scripturas Beda laudibus commendans, historiam gentis Anglorum ad eum scribit. Episcopatus vero Ethelwoldi anno quartodecimo, regni autem sui decimo, anno incarnationis Dominicæ septingentesimo quinto, post sancti Bedæ dormitionem anno tertio, idem

[a] Not printed; it merely borrows from Beda the account of the foundation of Lastingham monastery by Cedd.

rex Ceowlfus in ecclesia Lindisfarnensi monachus effectus est. Anno vero incarnationis Domini septingentesimo nonagesimo tertio, transitus patris Cuthberti centesimo VII., pontificatus autem Higbaldi undecimo, qui est annus imperii impiosissimi regis Ethelredi quintus, venerunt pagani ab aquilonali climate navali exercitu Britanniam die VII. iduum Juniarum ad Lindisfarnensem ecclesiam, et miserabili prædatione cuncta vastabant. Sed anno vertente, sancto Cuthberto vindicante, apud Giruum dux eorum interiit, nec multo post tempore, vi tempestatis eorum collisæ contritæque naves perierunt. Post Ecgberti episcopi octodecim annos, Ecgredus* episcopatum accepit, anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo tricentesimo primo. Eo postmodum mortuo, Ecgredus episcopus, vicesimo secundo anno imperii Eanredi regis præsulatu sublimatus, anno ab incarnatione Domini octingentesimo octogesimo quarto, ecclesiam quandam olim factam a beato Aidano tempore sancti Oswaldi regis, de Lindisfarnensi insula ad Northam, quæ antiquitus Ubbanforde dicebatur, transtulit. Ædificata ibi ecclesia in honore sanctorum Petri et Pauli, corpus sancti Cuthberti et sancti Ceowlfi regis corpus illuc transtulit, et in eorum nomine ecclesiam dedicavit. Decursis post hæc annorum curriculis, caput illius Dunelmiam translatum, una cum aliis sanctorum reliquiis in ecclesia sancti Cuthberti, quem semper amaverat, venerabiliter est locatum. Cujus corpus postea illo translatum, multis ibidem ut fertur ab habitatoribus ipsius villæ vel loci, multis claruit miraculis. Hoc rege monacho facto efficiente, data est monachis Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ licentia bibendi vinum vel cervisiam; ante enim non nisi lac vel aquam bibere solebant, secundum antiquam traditionem sancti Aidani.

A.D. 793.

Sack of Lindisfarne.

Ante. p. 51.

* Heathuredus.

Hist. Reg. 854.

Cap. XXII.—XXV.[a]

[a] Not printed; these chapters are all borrowed from Beda and Henry of Huntingdon.

Cap. XXVI.

Quantæ feritatis et inclementiæ erga domesticos fuerat et de quo regum stemate regio nativitatis originem ducat.

The cruelty of Ethelfrid, grandson of Ida, and St. Oswald's father.

Et quin non solum religiosis non novit parcere, etiam convicaneis quibusque et sibi amicitiæ lege et copulæ maritalis sibi fœdere constrictis dirus et rigidus in multis apparuit. Unde et Ellam regem Deirorum, cujus filiam duxerat, non solum regno pepulit, sed diversis etiam afficiendo cladibus et pluribus exturbando sedibus denique vita simul et regno privavit. Nihil enim nisi laudis et honoris gloriam petiit, et quomodo suæ potentiæ famam dilatare effusius prævaluerit. Hoc quidem pagano ritu exercere didicit, et solius militiæ operosa prodigia et magnifica exercitii militaris insignia frequentasse gloriosum duxit. Eratque iste de pernobili progenie primi regis Northanhimbrorum Idæ, qui gloriose idem regnum tenuit, suisque successoribus filiis et nepotibus jure hæreditario possidendum dereliquit. Ut autem ad ipsius originem pertingamus, aliquid hic de eo brevius perstringamus. Anno ab incarnatione Domini quingentesimo quadragesimo septimo Ida regnare cœpit, a quo omnis prosapia regum Northanhimbrorum hoc ordine supersit. Ida rex annis duodecim regnum tenuit, cui Adda Idæ filius in regno successit, et octo annis regnavit. Post hunc Ethelricus filius alius Idæ septem annis; et subsequenter Theodericus, filius tertius Idæ, aliis etiam septem annis regni primatum pro eo optinuit. Sed quia jam temporis senio et vitæ prolixioris ævo in filiis Idæ regni successio esse non potuit, jam ad alios, sed tamen ad ejusdem generis consobrinos, regni jus hæreditarium descendit. Unde iste Ethelfridus de quo agimus, secundi filii Idæ filius, id est Ethelrici filii progenitus extitit; quique jam deficientibus Idæ filiis

sicut nepos ipsius pro illis regii juris regnum percepit. Fuit itaque Ethelfridus filius regis Ethelrici, qui filius Idæ secundus natu extitit de regina conjuge, nam alios habuit de concubina filios, qui tanta minime præcellere debuerant dignitate. Quare Idæ regis strenuissimi nepos fuisse colligitur, quia filii Idæ filius qui Ethelricus dicitur filius fuisse progenitus hystorica veritate et serie comprobatur. De tam nobili ergo prosapia processit Ethelfridus rex, qui sancti Oswaldi pater extitit.

Cap. XXVII.

Quales filios habuerit, et qualiter Edwinus metu ipsius multo tempore profugus effectus est.

Ethelfrid persecutes Edwin, his brother-in-law.

Radicitus ergo omnem stemmatis illius seriem perquirentes, de filiis ejus procedamus ad hæredes, et sic attingamus ad regni consortes. Iste itaque Ethelfridus rex regis Ethelrici Idæ regis filii secundi filius fuit, qui in regno Berniciorum viginti quatuor annis præfuit, et hos septem filios procreavit, Eanfridum, Oswaldum, Oswium, Oslac, Oswdu, Oslaf, Offa; sed quia paganus solitos idolis ritus solvere solebat, certam conjugis dispositionem nullam tenebat. Attamen Ellæ regis filiam sibi in matrimonio copulaverat, sed, sicut laudis cupidus et fidei religionis ignarus, patrem illius cedente gladio peremit, fratremque conjugis suæ Edwinum diu exulatum persequi non omisit. Quare prædictus juvenis latebras effugii, ubicunque potuit, in Anglorum finibus expetiit, quia occiso patre suo a genero proprio, nusquam, ubi vires Ethelfridi attingerent, sibi tutum fore prospexit. Patre igitur perempto, ad Redwaldum natu nobilem Tityli filium, cujus pater Uffa fuit, a quo reges Orientalium Saxonum appellantur, confugit, ibique sub regis Orientalium Saxonum protectione quievit.

Cap. XXVIII.—XXXVIII.[a]

Cap. XXXIX.

Quo anno Dominicæ incarnationis sanctus Oswaldus sit natus, et quomodo cronica diversæ supputationis in ipso inveniri possint.

Oswald born. A.D. 604.

Sic cunctis historiarum manipulis in acervum corporis unius aggregatis, jam libet ad annos ætatis sancti Oswaldi stilum inflectere, et gradatim illius ævi successus describere. Athleta igitur Domini invictissimus, gloriosus martyr Christi Oswaldus, anno ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo quarto natus est, qui senarium divini operis ope adimplere studuit Evangelicæ fidei et imitationis. Eratque annus ipse ab adventu Anglorum in Britanniam centesimus quinquagesimus septimus. Nam dignum erat ut de suo genere fructum centesimum æternæ beatitudinis caperet, qui quietis æternæ significationem jam in quinquagesimo numero percepisset, quam Sancti Spiritus munere pro meritis obtineret. Ipse etiam ab adventu sancti Augustini in Angliam erat annus septimus. Nam anno ab incarnatione Domini quingentesimo nonagesimo sexto, sanctus Gregorius papa misit sanctum Augustinum doctorem cum XL. monachis, qui verbum Dei genti Anglorum evangelizarent. Ipsi tamen præfati doctores Britanniam anno sequenti venerunt, id est, anno incarnatione Domini quingentesimo nonagesimo septimo, qui fuit annus centesimus quinquagesimus adventus Anglorum in Britanniam. Septiformi quidem Sancti Spiritus munere sanctus Oswaldus claruit, qui quinquagesimum remissionis donum a Domino percepit, et coronam æternæ felicitatis, quæ per centesimum numerum designatur, accipere meruit. Eratque annus ipse

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[a] Not printed, the substance of them being entirely taken from Beda.

ab ipsa mundi origine quarto millesimus et nonagentesimus octavus et nonodecimus annus. Et hoc significationis sacramento, et merito. Nempe in quadrifida totius orbis latitudine angelicæ dignitatis honorandus merito erat consimilitudine, quia octavum beatitudinis habuit, qui decalogi præcepta adimplevit, et hoc intentionis proposito, ut conjungi posset novennario angelorum consortio. Fuit etiam de adventu Britannorum millesimus octingentesimus et septuagesimus quartus.

Cap. XL.

Quo anno beatus rex Oswaldus martyrium sustinuit, et de exilii illius tempore necnon de diversa illius ætatis supputatione.

Sed jam nunc ad patris ipsius veniamus seriem et simili ratione illius indagemus annorum quantitatem. Sicut igitur ex historiis comperisse potuimus, anno ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo quarto rex Ethelfridus de Accha regina sanctum Oswaldum genuit, qui annus regni ipsius duodecimus effulsit. Quippe semen quod in terram bonam seruerat, duodeno apostolorum numero, merito cælestis gratiæ connumerandum Dei institutione fuerat. Quatuor vero annis ante adventum sancti Augustini Ethelfridus regnare inceperat, et sanctus Oswaldus juvenis erat duodecim annorum, quum patrem ipsius rex Edwinus et Redwaldus peremerant. Ita duodennis effectus exul a patria cum omni stirpe sua toto tempore regni regis Edwini fuerat, quod decem et septem annis integris perdurabat. At Edwino a Penda rege Merciorum et Cedwalla rege Britonum mucronis præda effecto, vicesimo nono anno ætatis suæ jam Christianus effectus rediit, et in patrio solo, anno uno quo frater ejus regnum tenuit, cunctis amabundus permansit Quo fratre a Cedwalla occiso, tam A.D. 633.

Election of Oswald. A.D. 635. procerum quam episcoporum electione et auctoritate sanctus Oswaldus in regem eligitur, et pro fratre defuncto in regnum substituitur. Quod regale imperium sceptrigera potestate præditum, anno ætatis suæ tricesimo primo suscepit, et tricesimo octavo ævi sui anno martyr effectus pro cælestis regni gloria et corona feliciter commutavit. Anno igitur ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo quadragesimo secundo sanctus Oswaldus rex victoriosissimus martyrium suscepit, qui adventus Anglorum in Britanniam, annus centesimus et nonagesimus nonus fuit. Ab origine vero mundi quater millenus nonagentesimus octavus et quinquagesimus septimus. Ex quo Britones Angliam insulam obtinuerant, annus erat millesimus nonagentesimus sextus decimus. Ex eo vero tempore quo sanctus Augustinus Angliam pervenerat, hoc sancti Oswaldi anno passionis jam quadragesimus quintus annus instabat.

His death. A.D. 642.

Cap. XLI.

De rege Oswiu fratre sancti Oswaldi qui ei successit, quanta pertulerit.

Oswy succeeds.

Interea, jam sancto Oswaldo ad cælestia translato, suscepit pro eo regni terrestris sedem frater ejus Oswiu juvenis circiter triginta annorum, et per annos viginti octo laboriosissime rexit. Nempe gravius impugnabatur ab ea quæ fratrem suum occiderat, pagana gente Merciorum, et a filio quoque suo Alfrido, et a fratruo suo, id est fratris sui filio, Ethewaldo. Regnare igitur cœpit anno ab incarnatione Dominica sexcentesimo quadragesimo tertio.

Cap. XLII.

Qualiter sanctus Columba sancto regi Oswaldo apparuit, et eum in suos hostes progredi præceperit.

Beatus rex Oswaldus, cum esset in procinctu belli castrametatus contra Cathlonem [a] regem Britonum, quadam die, in sua papilione supra pulvillum dormiens, sanctum Columbanum in visu videt forma coruscantem angelica, cujus alta proceritas vertice nubes tangere videbatur. Qui scilicet vir beatus, regi proprium revelans nomen, in medio castrorum stans eadem castra, excepta quadam parva extremitate sui, protegebat fulgida veste, et hæc confirmatoria contulit verba: "Sequenti nocte de castris ad bellum procede. Hac enim vice mihi Dominus donavit ut hostes in fuga vertantur tui, et tuus Cathlon inimicus in manus tradatur tuas, et post bellum victor revertaris et faciliter regnes." Post hæc verba expergefactus rex senatui congregato hanc enarrat visionem. Qua conversi omnes, totus populus promittit se post reversionem de bello crediturum et baptismum suscepturum; nam usque in id temporis tota illa Saxonia gentilitatis et ignorantiæ tenebris obscurata erat, excepto rege Oswaldo, cum duodecim viris qui cum eo inter Scottos exulante baptizati sunt. Quid plura? Eadem subsecuta nocte, Oswaldus rex, sicut in visu edoctus fuerat, de castris ad bellum cum admodum pauciore exercitu contra millia numerosa progreditur; cui a Domino, sicut ei promissum est, felix et facilis est concessa victoria. Et rege trucidato Cathlone, victor post bellum reversus, postea totius Britanniæ imperator est a Deo ordinatus. Hanc narrationem indubitanter enarravit, qui se ab ore ipsius Oswaldi regis eandem visionem audisse protestatus est.

Apparition of St. Columba to Oswald, announcing victory over Cathlon and the Britons.

This was told by Oswald himself to the person who reported it.

[a] Cathlon seems to be merely a form of the name Cadwalla, who is called Catguollaun in the *Annales Cambriæ*.

Cap, XLIII.

Ubi corpus beati Oswaldi sepultum sit, et quomodo per custodum incuriam de Bardneye fere omnia illius ossa furata sunt, et quanta ibi remanserint, vel quam virtutis efficaciam erga febrium miseriam hactenus miraculose optinuerint.

The relics of St. Oswald have been dispersed; only three bones now remain at Bardney.

Virtutes sancti Oswaldi cunctas describere perlongum esset et supervacuum. Perlongum eo quod multæ sunt; supervacuum idcirco quod alias et ab aliis plenissime descriptæ sunt. Unde nos non alia hic depingendo posteris commendavimus, quam quæ non hactenus scripta fuisse didicimus, vel quæ nuper patrata per eum a testibus veridicis comperimus. Sed quia de corpore illius adhuc pæne nihil diximus, nunc jam in contingenti aliqua subjiciamus. Corpus illius sacratissimum columna lucis de cælo pendula nocte tota honorando perlustravit, quæ æmulorum conquassando invidiæ livorem amputavit, et devotionis gratia circa venerationis ipsius reliquias multorum animos inflammavit. Unde æmuli illi qui pridie abnuerant, tali signo comperto, eas in crastino vehementius expetebant, et corpus ipsius in monasterio quod Bardney dicitur cum honore maximo sepelierunt, et duas cruces lapideas ex alterutra parte sarcophagi, a capitis videlicet et pedum regionibus attingentes erexerunt. Post multum vero temporis, ejus fama sanctitatis gentibus alienigenis innotuit, domesticis vero tanti thesauri custodibus negligentia torporis obrepsit. Quare vicissim succedentes barbari, partim de ossibus illius pietatis furto abstulerunt, et per regiones innumeras tam nationum transmarinarum quam Anglicanarum disperserunt; eum in maximæ venerationis gloriam extulerunt. Tria vero ossa de sacro illo corpore in monasterio præfato supersunt, quæ parvæ tamen quantitatis existunt. Quibus tanta virtus inesse multis experimentis edocetur, quod nemo febricitantium qui aquas in quibus lota fuerint

cum fide devotionis exhauserit, qui non infra triduum perfecta sanitate reparetur. Hoc enim contestantur plurimi qui ista viderunt, et quam innumeri de diversis finibus ægroti, qui tali medicamine convaluerunt. Et merito a tali peste languidos liberat, qui vivens eandem typicæ virtutis gloriam exercebat. Nam frigescentes artus pauperum opibus et indumentis refovebat, et dolorum uredinem[a] tam in pauperibus quam in divitiis affluentibus suam fore reputabat. Nemo enim in regno suo quoad vixit infirmari vel opprimi injuste potuit, cujus desolationis intemperiem suam esse non credidit, et cujus saluti officiosissime pro loco et tempore non consuluit. Omnibus quippe, sicut Paulus ait, omnia factus est, et idcirco pro salute sibi subditorum, sicut et Christus pro redemptione omnium, suo sanguine rubricatus martyrium passus est.

Cap. XLIV.

Quantæ fragrantia suavitatis emanaverit de reliquiis sancti Oswaldi martyris.

Est in provincia Merciorum regia civitas quæ Gloucestria nuncupatur, temporibus nobilium regum Angliæ divitiis satis opulenta, et dignitatibus famosa, quæ in temporis successu non minus celebris colebatur, beati martyris Oswaldi patrociniis sublimata. Ecclesia siquidem in ejus veneratione et memoria ibidem antiquitus fundata honorabatur, regum et principum liberalitate dotata, et eorundem effulsit possessionibus et

The city of Gloucester devout to St Oswald.

[a] There is a note here in the Harleian MS., in the hand of its compiler William Tode (a monk at Durham at the beginning of the sixteenth century): "Uredo est "corruptio veniens a vento virente, "qua segetes videntur adustæ in "agro."

Translation of his relics there in the reign of Henry I. The writer was present and perceived a delicious fragrance.

munificentiis nobiliter ditata.[a] Unde propter innumera pretiosi martyris perpetrata miracula ab indigenis magnificabatur vehementius et diligebatur attentius, quasi civitatis suæ mater et domina. In illa etenim non minima pars reliquiarum beati martyris, brachium quoque sinistrum, cum parte capillorum ipsius, in antiquis temporibus honorifice erant recondita; quæ regnante nobilissimo rege Henrico primo, præsidente vero Eboracensis provinciæ metropolitano Thoma secundo,[b] illius devotione sollicitante, de locello ubi prius fuerant in capsellam in qua modo venerantur debita reverentia ab eodem pontifice sunt translata. In qua translatione tantam mirifici odoris fragrantiam sensimus, ut nullius sapientis eloquentia tantæ redolentiæ vapor ad plenum valeat exprimi. Cælestis enim illa odoris amœnitas fuerat, ut arbitror, non humana; quæ quam diu ineffàbili jocunditate nos fovebat, oblitis temporalium curis et voluptatibus miro nescio quo interiori affectu et suavitate præcordiali delectabamur, quasi gaudiis inebriati cælestibus. Hujus melliflui nectaris affluentia copiosius efficiebamur gustando, de cujus dulcedinis efficacia mens et manus deficiunt scribendo[c].

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[a] "Of the priory of St. Oswald ". . . anciently subsisting [at "Gloucester] there are no relics "deserving notice." Lewis' Topographical Dictionary.

[b] Thomas II. was archbishop of York from 1108 to 1114.

[c] A note of Tode, quoting Higden's *Polychronicon*, vi. 4, states that Ethelred the ealdorman of Mercia, and Elfleda his wife (king Alfred's daughter), built a monastery at Gloucester, and translated thither the bones of St. Oswald from Bardney.

Liber 2.

Cap. XLV.

Incipit prologus compendiosus in sequens opus quomodo de Sancto Oswaldo scriptor affectum hujus commenti conceperit et ad laudem et gloriam victoriosi regis et martyris Oswaldi studii Christiana fundamenta provexerit.

Cum mecum penes meipsum tacitus in quietis silentio residerem, et me supra meipsum ad speculationem Domini secretorum pro solitæ modulo paupertatis erigerem, subito ritus ordinis et regularis aditus occasiones causam dedere et materiam, ut ad alloquendos consodales accederem, et de summis ad infima animi velocis volatus inflecterem. Aquila nimirum, dum per æthera extollitur, in momento ad cadaveris capturam per inferiora dilabitur. Cum ergo non tam jocis quam seriis relationum animi conamina applicarem, repente contigit ut nuper perpetratum a beato Oswaldo miraculum memoriæ tenaci commendando infigerem. Interim frater P., qui lateralis mihi consederat, aliquid illi supermirabile adjiciebat. Forte quidem idem spiritus vocis illius instrumenta digito virtutis suæ tetigerat, qui mei propositi medullam in ejusdem intentionis propositum animando erexerat. Unde de illius ore tam vehementis spiritus afflamina sensi progredi, quod forte crediderim ejusdem labia spiritu docente commoneri. Sermo quidem ipsius de veritate supersit; initium de superna edificatione propositum; de Dei gloria textus proloquium, et de Sancti Oswaldi virtute commendanda consilium; de æternitatis vero beatitudine fundamentum. Hinc omnia mecum retractans commendabili ejus exordio adhibui diligentiæ studium, tanti fervoris proposito audientiæ secretum, Dei eloquio intelligentiæ desudantis ingenium, Sancti Oswaldi sperans patroci-

Reginald explains how he was induced to write on St. Oswald.

nium affuturum, cum immeriti de ipsius beatitudine percipere præmii possimus auxilium. Proinde, ad ipsius regis et martyris gloriam declarandam, præsentis scedulæ paginam studuimus, his aliquibus adhibitis de recentibus et hactenus incognitis miraculis, exarandam. Sed quia omni habenti pietatis propositum de Dei adjutorio proveniet emolumentum ex improviso, Christus de regionibus alienis quendam hospitem monachum ad nos direxerat, qui nova nobis et cæteris fratribus miracula de eodem rege et martyre veridico eloquio disserebat. Quæ P. frater prædictus nobis ante retulerat, hæc eadem iste omnia approbabat, loca et tempora in quibus facta fuerunt enuntiabat, et his etiam quædam quæ ipse oculis suis viderat adjiciebat; quæ etiam in monasterio de Bardney informibus exarata lituris et rudibus mutilata scripturis anxius deploravit, quia sensum dictaminis barbariem resonare discriminis penes eos astruxit. Mox igitur miraculum quod frater H. direxerat, calamus noster in vase alio ex ipsius imperio transfundere instituit, et quæ frater P. retulit his amittendo conjunxit; in calce vero quæ frater iste cum sacramentis se vidisse asseruit, subscribenda decrevit. Quibus compactis sedit animo in capite libri de capite Sancti Oswaldi quæ a domino Rievalensi didici in sermonis prohemio ponere, et mox in continenti de brachio illius incorruptionis primordii hujus liciatorio [a] texere. Sicut enim caput membra sequuntur, sic et post capitis ipsius exordium miracula in subsequentibus disponentur. Itaque quicunque legerit, non erga nos livoris invidia contabescat, nec toxicata venenosi dentis spicula in nostri reprehensione exacuat, cum ad hæc describenda non insolentia elationis impellat, sed amoris fraterni devotio hæc pro debito exactionis effundat. Si quis tamen hujusmodi curæ institerit, noverit quia gladius linguæ dolosæ qui in caput servientis sui humilioris vibrando intenditur, in regis Oswaldi injuriam cote in-

A stranger monk relates miracles about him,

the rude records of which were at Bardney.

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[a] "a lome for a wever," Tode.

iquitatis acuitur. Gladius tamen, qui caput pii martyris transforando secavit, reprehensorem nostrum exterminando conculcabit, ubi beatus rex Oswaldus pro nobis interpellaturus et cum Christo regnaturus intravit; nosterque spiritus purus ad æthera, meritis illius obtinentibus, evolabit.

Cap. XLVI.[a]

Cap. XLVII.

De brachiis sancti Oswaldi et manibus ejusdem incorruptis, quæ Bebbe regina sustulit, et quomodo in civitate regia reposuerit.

Tandem non multo interjecto tempore sanctitas beati Oswaldi late multis innotuit, quam frequentia signorum quotidie novis virtutum indiciis declaravit. Columna nimirum, quæ tota nocte de ætheris supercilio usque in Lindesi provinciæ gremio super carum sacri ipsius corporis canopeum resplenduit, sanctitatis illius magnalia preconizando satis convenienter expressit. Capitis illius honorificam majestatem per cœlestis intelligimus oraculi revelationem. Illæsa incorruptio brachiorum præclara denuntiat ipsius operamina pietatis. Unde, sicut ab antiquis compertum fuisse didicimus, caput ipsius in Lindisfarnensi cimiterio sepultum credimus. Quod evulsum a stipite a fratre ipsius Oswiu, et post eum in regnum succedente, historia attestante collegimus. Bebbe vero regina brachia illius sustulit, et in techa argentea una cum sacris manibus ossibus et nervis, carne integra et incorrupta et venis integerrimis, in Bebburg civitate reclusit. Civitas illa diebus illis regiæ dignitatis extitit, quæ ob insignem reginæ memoriam nomen ab illius vocabulo traxit. Sic etenim nomen reginæ perpetuari meruit, dum civitas de illius cognominata nomine perpetuo perdurando subsistit.

What became of the arms and hands of Oswald.

Bamborough quite decayed from its former greatness.

[a] Not printed, as it merely recapitulates what has been said before.

Quæ manus cum brachiis sancti Oswaldi in ecclesia Sancti Petri multo tempore servabantur, et apud Bebburgh in maximæ venerationis gloria tenebantur.

Cap. XLVIII.

De brachio dextero apud Bebburgh furato, et ad ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Burch translato, sed multo honore apud indigenas exaltato.

The relics of St. Oswald at Bamborough coming to be treated with neglect.

Verum quia labilis seculi status ut rota volubilis decidit, et de secundis eventibus quandoque sinistri successus ignobilia parturit, civitas ista, quæ quondam præ suæ nobilitatis pompa enituit gloriosa, his diebus novissimis de ingenua et libera facta est sub tributis serviens et ancilla. Unde sicut cultus deperiit illius honoris, sic et antiquæ nomen honorificum decidit dignitatis; et quæ tunc domina fuerat civitatum Britonensium, jam laudis antiquæ sabbatum in lamentabile desolationis commutavit obprobrium, dies festos cultus antiqui in raricolone tugurium, honoris vero gaudium pæne transformavit in nichilum. Perinde sicut gloria civitatis deficiendo deperiit, sic et cultus teneræ religionis deficiendo disparuit, nec erat pæne usque ad unum qui sancti Oswaldi reliquias cum veneratione excoleret vel qui eis custodiæ diligentiam adhiberet. Quo comperto monachus quidam de Burch cenobio, quod quondam Middilhame dicebatur, qui in partibus illis advenerat, spiritum audaciæ concipiendo in proximo parturire furtum sacrilegii non timebat. Aditus ergo et exitus viarum ecclesiæ quæ in Bebburgh fuerat diutius exploravit; sed tandem, data oportunitate, brachium dextrum de techa extrahens secum clanculo asportavit, et eam in ecclesia sua cum honore et gloria collocavit. Maluitque talis fuisse furti sacrilegus depredator, quam tanto carere thesauro, suæ conscientiæ improbus accusator. Omnibus quidem vitæ suæ gemeret diebus, si tali

a monk of Peterborough stole the right arm, and carried it to his own monastery,

data occasione pietatem sceleris, furatis reliquiis sancti martyris, non egisset. De quibus igitur quam maxime de piaculi discrimine laudem gloriæ adquisivit, ecclesiæ suæ de suæ nota infamiæ honoris cumulum compensavit, et sancto martyri perpetuæ venerationis impendium conquirendo obtinuit. Jam enim ecclesia crebris obsequiorum sollemniis pro sancti Oswaldi honore ab Anglis [a] attollitur, et precipua devotionum preconia et oblationum predia in ea cotidie a fidelibus augmenta succrescunt.

which is in consequence the object of special honour and liberality to the English.

Cap. XLIX.

Quomodo sancti Oswaldi venerabile caput ad sancti Cuthberti sepulchrum ipso revelante delatum sit, et qualiter de Bebburgh raptum fuerit, et mirifice in sacri pontificis sepulchro fuerit collocatum.

Sed cetera sui sacri corporis portio sine debiti honoris titulo diutius latere non debuit. Quod ab hominibus vel neglectui vel incuriæ extitit, Christus mirabilius attollendum præordinando instituit. Unde post multos sancti Oswaldi depositionis annos, venerandus confessor Domini Cuthbertus, post longi temporis exitum, cuidam viro veterano circa sacrum corpus ipsius sibi in obsequiis devoto apparuit, et taliter exorsus ait. "Vade," inquit, "ad Bebburgh, ut caput sancti Os-"waldi, quod ibi negligentius in ecclesia custoditur, "ad me deferas; ut una mecum cum mei corporis "sacrario in uno loculo reponatur. Oswiu quidem re-"gis sequaces qui successerant, illud de Lindisfarneo, "monasterio meo, injuste extorquebant; secum sacri-"lege comportantes illo transferebant. Mortui sunt enim "omnes qui ecclesiam meam tali thesauro spoliando "vacuaverant, et qui meum sanctuarium talis rapinæ

Apparition of St. Cuthbert to one of his followers commanding him to remove the head of Oswald from Bamborough.

[a] *Anglis.* The English population of the Midland counties, to which naturally any monastery endeared itself that paid marked honours to a native saint.

"sacrilegio profanabant. Quod enim in meo cimiterio "humatum mihi Deus commendando delegaverat, et "mihi devotionis custodia commissum conjunxerat, "hominis violentia a me separare non debebat." His consimilibus vir ille fiducialiter animatus, exinde cœpit sedulo anxius ecclesiæ de Bebburgh valvas explorando lustrare; sed plurimis elapsis temporibus nunquam commodam voluntati suæ opportunitatem poterat perquirendo investigare. Exinde, interjecto temporis spatio, dies sancti Oswaldi natalitius institit, ipseque cum ceteris turbarum tumultibus illo convolabat. Nocte tamen eadem dieque sollemni nihil efficere potuit, quia plebs multitudinis oculato bicipiti capite undique attonita omnia circumspexit. Incauta nimirum negligentia illud caput venerabile plebs religione inculta habuit, quod supra altare panno involutum extra omnem techæ custodiam publice coram cunctis exponere consuetudinis habuit, quod vir ille contuens, cor illius exposito anteriori concaluit, et de sancti Cuthberti jussionis meditatione et suæ tarditatis irreverentia in corde ejus rubor objurgatæ confusionis exarsit. Nocte vero sequenti iterum sanctus Cuthbertus ei in visione astitit, et exhortando contestans ait, "Crastina die tua voluntas adimplebitur, et "facultas tibi in hoc quod præceperam me obtinente "donabitur; tantum hoc facere dum tempus fuerit me"mineris, quod me tunc inspirante in corde tuo con"silii inveneris." Mane ergo, expletis in ecclesia missæ ministeriis, vir ille diutina expectatione sustinuit, et Dei misericordiam exspectando exspectavit. Nec brevi mora longius exacta, contigit ut omnes foris excederent, vixque aliquem in ecclesia superstitem reliquissent. Sacerdos denique qui supererat, alicubi progressurus, curam omnium soli monasterii illius ædituo committebat. Anxiabatur exinde vir ille, spiritu suo interius fremente, præ angustia doloris, quia quocunque pedetentim nutanti gressu processisset, semper sacristam illum ducem prævium sive sequentem sui

reperiebat itineris. Huc procedens per ecclesiæ vestibula, sequentem illum mœstus invenit; hac vero progrediens per angulorum basilicæ diversoria, stupidus investigator semper eum scrutinii sui querulosum comitem existimabat. Toto igitur corde ad beatum Cuthbertum conversus, id quod ipso in animo ejus dictante consilii conceperat, nil cunctatus efficiebat. Balteum suum cum caligulis manuum infra sedile ecclesiæ ex industria deseruit, sicque foris egressus, circa cimiterii fines equum straturus longius excessit. Cum autem clericum illum procul a tergo sequentem avidius respexisset, famulum suum alicujus quasi ex causæ negotio quopiam abire præcepit, clericum vero ad se advocans ait; "Age, inquam, sodalis, pro caritate hunc equum "meum sustine, meque ad ecclesiam paululum decli-"nando redire permitte. Balteum enim quo accingi "debui, et cyrothecas quibus manus a frigoribus et "immunditia squaloris tuendas habui, labilis animo et "deses studio in monasterio dereliqui." At iste, quia negare non potuit equum habenis tenuit, ipsumque quo petierat libentius abire permisit. Non enim advertebat viri sollertiam, vel causæ putabat alterius sub tali integumento latuisse peritiam. Subiens concito vir prædictus ad altaris fastigia, caput illud venerabile complectens, et in oscula cum lacrimis proruens, sibi composuit in sinu brachii alterius sub axilla. Talis enim ingenii stemate suo custodi rei ordinem cupiebat abtergendo delitescere; balteum vero et cirothecas præ manibus prodiens de ecclesia prætulit, de quibus a mente suspecti custodis ambiguum sinistræ dubitationis abegit. Obsequente ei custode, et nil adversi accidisse putante, vir ille valedicens abiit; clericusque non prius in ecclesiam introspiciens ostium a tergo cum serratuli serra reclusit. Cum tanto denique sanctuarii pignore ad sancti Cuthberti sepulchrum veniens, sicut antiquiores natu referre solebant, pii confessoris sepulcrum, motu interius perstrepente sine manus alterius admotione, ultroneo

By a clever stratagem, the follower succeeds in doing so.

This narrative is given on the authority of the prior of Rievaulx.

visum est aperire et composito secum capite sese more spontaneo reclusisse. Hæc, sicut a patre nostro domino Rievallensi audivimus, ita et calamo currente describendo perstrinximus.

CAP. L.

De forma beati Oswaldi et pulchritudinis elegantia, de specie ejus et figura, sicut in veteribus linguæ Angliæ libris reperitur, quod verbo in verbum sicut potuimus in Latinum transtulimus.

Description of Oswald's face and person,

Regiæ virtutis beati Oswaldi perpetuare memoriam, trahere notitiam, propalare sanctimoniam, et fructum dat posteris, devotionem suscitat in modernis, et spei erigit fabricam in oppressis. Quæ omnia perpendentes, maluimus aliquid in ipsius honore describere quam marcentes otio utilia posteris concelando reticere. Venerabilis itaque rex Oswaldus, martyr Christi egregius, sicut antiquitas veridica contestatur, his proprietatum pulchritudinibus facie tenus insignitur. Erat nimirum statura procerus, flaventi cesarie citrinus, glaucis oculis radiantibus conspicuus, facie producta, barba admodum pertenui, paululum facie candenti sublongus, circa vultus gloriam herili plenitudine rotundus; mento decente compositus, labris modice minutis cum dulcedine stillanti amore jocundus, naso vero media virtutis plenitudine ceteræ faciei similitudini consonante coruscus. Manus vero ejus et brachia multæ simul longitudinis et plenæ fortitudinis, animi audacis, ferocis simul atque robusti pectoris, lenitum mentis compassione flexibilis. In humeris vero illius plenitudo eminebat, condensæ spissitudinis, quæ, ut aiunt, indicium solet esse fortitudinis; circa renes vero graciliter herilibus tibiis a poplite in immensum descendentibus oblongis. Hæc Robertus vir ingenuus de hospitali, quod est in Ebo-

derived from an old English book at York.

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raco, se sic in libris veteribus Anglicis descripta invenisse retulit, cujus etiam genus dictaminis in modernæ linguæ modulatione rhythmico pedis metro decurrit.

Cap. LI.

De qualitate et forma venerandi capitis regis et martyris Oswaldi, qualiter illud sit formatum, quomodo in prælio vulneratum, et quantæ portionis pretium in beati Cuthberti sepulchro sit repositum.

A minute description of the head of St. Oswald, preserved in the tomb of St. Cuthbert.

Piissimus rex Oswaldus hoc corporaliter præsagare videtur quod vivens indesinenti opere exercere non desinebat in mente. Unde libet paululum calamum inclinando reflectere; et de qualitate illius sacratissimi capitis aliqua sub compendio coartando perstringere. Caput gloriosi regis et martyris Christi Oswaldi juxta venerandi pontificis Cuthberti caput lateraliter in ejusdem patris sepulcro honorifice collocatur, cujus qualitatis species talis existere certissime comprobatur. Est tota illius spherica rotunditas quasi inexplicabilis, et miri perfundit odoris suavitas; vitrei coloris, rutilo undique splendore croceantis, qui cereum flavorem videtur excedere, et aureæ similitudini, pro maximi decoris gratia et nitida splendoris specula, amplius conveniendo consociare. Cujus sphericæ compositionis forma latæ videtur esse dimensionis et oblongæ, productilis ab ancipite usque in occipite; terete circuli galeati figura in rotunditate lineali medietatis curvatura consurgit et demittitur. Magnitudinis vero ejus grossitudo non modica esse videtur. Extat nimirum non tam immensæ molis quam magnitudinis, quia pondere sui, tenentis manibus, videtur quam facile, licet contuentium oculis visum fuerit ponderosum mole existere, præ suæ magnitudinis opinione. In summi verticis cardine, in latitudinem se quandam videtur extendere, quod tamen multa grossitudo magis videtur efficere, quam circulus natu-

raliter sphericus a rectitudinis sui tramite exorbitando componere. Frons altior latius præminet, nasusque lineari moderamine pendet, nec nimis acute videtur exsurgere, nec demissius propatula latitudinis distentione protendendo extendere. Vultus longioris faciei videtur genas stemate aliquo producere, qui virilis gloriæ decorem satis comprobatur intimando ostendere. Mentum rotunditate decenter composita decusatum, id est, ornatum, decoratur, quod natura artifice placanti curvatura paululum mediotenus sursum inflectitur, rursusque, osse immanis se dilatando paulatim erigente, usque ad oris ipsius labra pertingere. Gingivæ utræque penitus integræ, que pulchrescunt aspectu candido et delectabili: dentiumque plenitudine nitescunt, situ ordinis originali. Molares etenim dentes in illis sunt; qui ex alterutra regione bicipites existunt, qui ad ciborum emolumenta in latitudine capaciores ceteris naturaliter emergere debuerunt. Canini etiam in prima regione, qui cibaria conscindunt, necnon et acuti aculei qui concisa comminuunt. Unde de dentium plenitudine nil defuisse conspicitur, cum omnium integritas sine ulla portionis diminutione in ipsius gingivis plenius habeatur. Ceterum ex parte aliqua alterius regionis ipsius venerandi capitis videtur laterali plaga aditus cujusdam patere foraminis, quod gladius hostilis in prælio quo occubuit effecit, quod etiam ad trium digitorum immersionem satis in testa sacri capitis aperiendo patescit. Testa enim capitis ita fuit gladio vorante decisa, quasi videretur foramen illud novaculi peracuti verbere vel præcisionis secamine abrasa. Nullam tamen aliam læsionem ictus quassantis spiculi videtur efficere nec nisi præter foramen ipsum quod sic amputata testæ particula prominet, aliqua forte rimula in toto sacro capite uspiam conspicitur apparere. Præterea inferius a capite solida colli compage, juncturæ gutturis ossium sibimet connexæ de deorsum aliquanto longius apparent, quæ omnia colli ossa retinere integra,

et gutturis ossium penetralia inconvulsa colligare cunctis aspicientibus patent. Nempe adeo immensam profunditatis longitudinem colli extensi magnitudo protenditur, quod duas nexuras spinæ nascentis orbiculorum ex integro habere videatur. Quas orbiculorum nexuras spondiiia physici appellant; quæ spinæ per dorsi medium descendentis initium generant. Quæ adeo solide naturaliter cum sacri testa capitis inhærent, quod nec contactu quidem fortiori aliquatenus avelli sive moveri prævalent: tantumque de anterioribus gutturis ossibus sub mento inferius descendentis ad caput sacratissimum convertendo continent, quantum illa duo spondilia obtinendo de colli compaginibus posterius habent. Unde advertitur quod ictus gladii ferientis non in obliquo, spiculatore truculento feriente deviando, demerserit, sed magis vibrantis viribus linealiter in directo tramite secando permeaverit. Hic sacri capitis thesaurus in sacculo purpureo in immensum oblongo obvolvitur, et sic juxta venerandi pontificis Cuthberti caput honorifice collocatur, cujus pannus de rubricanti purpura esse conspicitur, qui spissiori soliditatis textura roboratur, ita ut in manu plicantis præ solidæ suæ texturæ gratia crepanti murmure resonare videatur. Qui alterius generis colore guttatim machinante textura variatur, ita ut tali corporis artificioso opere non modica pulcritudinis species contuentibus efficiatur. Sacculus autem ipse, qui plurimum in longitudinis distentione protenditur, imposito prius sancto capite, postmodum totus involucris circa ipsum convolvendo complicatur, et sic in aggestæ pilæ similitudinem in acervi cujusdam cumulum aggregatur.

Description of the bag containing the head.

CAP. LII., LIII., LIV.[a]

[a] It did not seem worth while to print these chapters, which contain a minute account of the hand and arm of St. Oswald preserved at Durham, and long allegorical interpretations of the anatomical facts.

Cap. LV.

Incipit argumentum satis approbabile quomodo annum incarnationis Dominicæ cum sancti Cuthberti transitu poterimus sine errore reperire, et annum depositionis sancti Oswaldi similiter invenire.

Chronology of the period of St. Oswald's life and death.

Revolutis vero rerum gestarum historiis, quam multi temporis seriem inter sancti Oswaldi et beati Cuthberti distare cognoscimus, si subtilius quæ vera sunt indagare velimus. Venerandus enim confessor Domini Cuthbertus quartus ab Aidano Lindisfarnensi episcopo successit; beatus vero Oswaldus temporibus regni sui Aidanum de Scotia ob prædicationis gratiam accersivit. Aidanus ergo septemdecim annis primus in Lindisfarneá insula sedit, Finanus vero decem, Colman tribus, Tudda quatuor, Eata tribus, Cuthbertus vero venerabilis duobus. Quorum omnium summa annorum, usque ad beati Cuthberti depositionem, triginta novem annorum fuisse comperitur. Ut autem noverimus quotus tunc temporis annus incarnationis extiterit, ita hoc ipsum regularis auctoritas comprobabit. Anno quidem A.D. 1165. instanti millesimus centesimus sexagesimus quintus ab incarnationis tempore est, qui etiam depositionis beati Cuthberti quadringentesimus octogesimus annus est. De Dominicæ ergo incarnationis annis mille quingentos subducimus, et septingentos superesse solummodo reperimus.[a] Item octoginta annos qui de tempore depositionis beati Cuthberti remanserant de septingentis

[a] As it stands this is nonsense. I believe Reginald meant to say that if you deduct from the round number (1100) of the date A.D., the round number (400) of the period of years since St. Cuthbert's burial, 700 will be left. Deduct 80, the remainder of that period, from 700, and 620 will remain; to which if we add the odd years (65) of the date A.D. we get 865. By some unaccountable oversight Reginald computes the sum of years as 675, instead of 865, and therefore dates St. Cuthbert's burial 10 years too early.

annis Dominicæ incarnationis abstrahimus, et jam non nisi sexcentos et viginti annos de incarnationis tempore remansisse conspicimus. His denique sexcentis[1] et viginti annis, sexaginta quinque annos quos in primo numero Dominicæ incarnationis habuimus, ut numerus integer totus adimpleatur, adjungimus, de quorum summa conjuncta sexcentos et septuaginta quinque annos construi invenimus. Unde annus depositionis beati Cuthberti sexcentesimus et septuagesimus quintus Dominicæ incarnationis extitit, sicut hæc certa annorum auctoritas comprobavit. Sed quia beati Oswaldi annum natalitium quærimus, de hiis sexcentis septuaginta quinque annis qui in depositione beati Cuthberti Dominicæ fuerant incarnationis, triginta novem annos subtrahimus, et jam non nisi sexcentos triginta sex superesse comprobamus. Hic primus annus episcopalis sancti Aidani in Lindisfarnensi insula extitit: quam sedem sanctus Oswaldus beato Aidano secundo regni sui anno dedit, quo etiam anno eum de Scotiæ insula quæ Hii dicitur ad fidem prædicandam subdito populo accersivit.

Cap. LVI.

De differentia annorum sancti Oswaldi et beati Cuthberti, et quod caput sancti Oswaldi non tanto tempore terra fuerat abditum, sed multo prius tempore honorificatum.

Christianæ igitur fidei disciplina, verbi Dei nova lucerna, evangelicæ prædicationis hierarcha, Oswaldus, rex fidelis et catholicus, anno ætatis suæ tricesimo primo regni gubernacula suscepit; tricesimo autem nono martyrium passus a Penda rege Merciorum occubuit. Annus autem ipsius ætatis tricesimus primus, The chronology of the period further considered.

[1] *sex*, Fx.

Dominicæ incarnationis est annus sexcentesimus tricesimus quintus. Secundo autem anno regni sui Aidano dedit sedem pontificii in insula Lindisfarnensi. Anno igitur sexcentesimo tricesimo quinto Dominicæ incarnationis, qui est adventus Anglorum in Britanniam centesimus octogesimus octavus, adventus vero beati Augustini tricesimo nono, imperii sancti Oswaldi anno secundo, sedes episcopalis in insula prædicta primum esse cœpit. Sanctus vero Oswaldus, octo episcopatus sancti Aidani annis expletis, idem sexcentesimo quadragesimo quarto anno Dominicæ incarnationis, pontificante postmodum per novem annos Aidano, de hac vita migravit. Sexcentesimo igitur et quadragesimo quarto caput sancti Oswaldi sepultum est in cimiterio Lindisfarnensi. Aidanus denique anno ejusdem incarnationis sexcentesimo quinquagesimo tertio obiit. Beatus vero Cuthbertus episcopus, post ejus obitum transactis viginti duobus annis, sexcentesimo videlicet septuagesimo quinto Dominicæ incarnationis anno decessit. Itaque triginta et unus annus inter beati Oswaldi et sancti Cuthberti transitus habentur, sicut hæ supputationes annorum declarare videntur. Frustra igitur arbitrantur nonnulli toto isto tempore caput sancti Oswaldi, usque ad dies captivitatis, quibus sancti Cuthberti corpus de insula delatum est, in cimiterio Lindisfarnensi fuisse humatum, cum caput illud venerabile multis pii furti predonibus fuisset desiderabile, ob notam illius in gentibus ostensionem miraculorum. Si enim tanto tempore id negligentia præsidentium in gremio terræ sub vili cespite dimisisset, facilis illud desiderando quærentibus aditus extitisset. Unde illud quod præscriptum est melius approbamus, et cognitis ubique fama vulgante sancti Oswaldi virtutibus a successoribus Oswiu illud ablatum de Lindisfarne cognoscimus; sed beati Cuthberti, sicut prædictum est, postmodum restitutum fuisse colligimus. Quod vero in libro de statu ecclesiæ dicitur, quod caput sancti Os-

Death of Oswald in 644.

Of Aidan in 653.

Of St. Cuthbert in 675.

Hist. Dun. Eccl. ii. 6.

waldi et ossa sancti Aidani componentes cum sancti Cuthberti corpore de insula transtulerunt, nihil dissidet, vel ad historiam perturbandam attinet. Nempe ibi tantum reliquias sacras quas cum sancto Cuthberto abstulere commemorando dinumerat: non vero quomodo istæ collectæ prius fuerint, vel a quibus illo comportatæ extiterint, aliquo sub tenore retractat. Itaque sanctus Oswaldus, Accha matre Christiana, sancti Edwini regis sorore, anno incarnationis Dominicæ sexcentesimo quarto natus est; ejusdem vero sexcentesimo tricesimo quarto regno potitus est. Sexcentesimo vero et quadragesimo quarto ejusdem incarnationis anno, pro Christi nomine cum diceret, "Deus, miserere animabus," capite plexus est.

LIBER III.[a]

[a] Not printed, as it is entirely taken from Beda's account of St. Oswald and his miracles.

END OF VOLUME I.

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These Calendars render accessible to investigation a large and important mass of historical materials. The Northern Rebellion of 1566–67; the plots of the Catholic fugitives in the Low Countries; the numerous designs against Queen Elizabeth and in favour of a Catholic succession; the Gunpowder-plot; the

rise and fall of Somerset; the Overbury murder; the disgrace of Sir Edward Coke; the rise of the Duke of Buckingham, &c. Numerous other subjects are illustrated by these Papers, few of which have been previously known.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOHN BRUCE, Esq., F.S.A., (Vols. I.–XII.); *by* JOHN BRUCE, Esq., F.S.A., and WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A., (Vol. XIII.); and *by* WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A., (Vols. XIV.–XVI.) 1858–1880.

Vol. I.—1625–1626.	Vol. IX.—1635–1636.
Vol. II.—1627–1628.	Vol. X.—1636–1637.
Vol. III.—1628–1629.	Vol. XI.—1637.
Vol. IV.—1629–1631.	Vol. XII.—1637–1638.
Vol. V.—1631–1633.	Vol. XIII.—1638–1639.
Vol. VI.—1633–1634.	Vol. XIV.—1639.
Vol. VII.—1634–1635.	Vol. XV.—1639–1640.
Vol. VIII.—1635.	Vol. XVI.—1640.

This Calendar presents notices of a large number of original documents of great value to all inquirers relative to the history of the period to which it refers. Many of them have been hitherto unknown.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, DURING THE COMMONWEALTH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. 1875-1881.

Vol. I.—1649–1650.	Vol. V.—1652–1653.
Vol. II.—1650.	Vol. VI.—1653–1654.
Vol. III.—1651.	Vol. VII.—1654.
Vol. IV.—1651–1652.	Vol. VIII.—1655.

This Calendar is in continuation of those during the reigns from Edward VI. to Charles I., and contains a mass of new information.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES II., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. 1860–1866.

Vol. I.—1660–1661.	Vol. V.—1665–1666.
Vol. II.—1661–1662.	Vol. VI.—1666–1667.
Vol. III.—1663–1664.	Vol. VII.—1667.
Vol. IV.—1664–1665.	

Seven volumes of this Calendar, between 1660 and 1667, have been published.

CALENDAR OF HOME OFFICE PAPERS OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq., 1878–1879. Vol. III. *Edited by* RICHARD ARTHUR ROBERTS, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. 1881.

Vol. I.—1760 (25 Oct.)–1765.	Vol. III.—1770–1772.
Vol. II.—1766–1769.	

These are the first three volumes of the modern series of Domestic Papers, commencing with the accession of George III.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to SCOTLAND, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARKHAM JOHN THORPE, Esq., of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. 1858.

Vol. I., the Scottish Series, of the Reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, 1509–1589.

Vol. II., the Scottish Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1589–1603; an Appendix to the Scottish Series, 1543–1592; and the State Papers relating to Mary Queen of Scots during her Detention in England, 1568–1587.

These two volumes of State Papers relate to Scotland, and embrace the period between 1509 and 1603. In the second volume are notices of the State Papers relating to Mary Queen of Scots.

Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London. *Edited by* Henry Savage Sweetman, Esq., B.A., Trinity College, Dublin, Barrister-at-Law (Ireland). 1875–1881.

Vol. I.—1171–1251.
Vol. II.—1252–1284.
Vol. III.—1285–1292.
Vol. IV.—1293–1301.

These volumes contain a Calendar of all documents relating to Ireland, preserved in the Public Record Office, London; the work is to be continued to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, of the Reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* Hans Claude Hamilton Esq., F.S.A. 1860–1877.

Vol. I.—1509–1573.
Vol. II.—1574–1585.
Vol. III.—1586–1588.

The above have been published under the editorship of Mr. Hans Claude Hamilton.

Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, of the Reign of James I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* the Rev. C. W. Russell, D.D., and John P. Prendergast, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. 1872–1880.

Vol. I.—1603–1606.
Vol. II.—1606–1608.
Vol. III.—1608–1610.
Vol. IV.—1611–1614.
Vol. V.—1615–1625.

This series is in continuation of the Irish State Papers commencing with the reign of Henry VIII.; but, for the reign of James I., the Papers are not confined to those in the Public Record Office, London.

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. Noel Sainsbury, Esq. 1860–1880.

Vol. I.—America and West Indies, 1574–1660.
Vol. II.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1513–1616.
Vol. III.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1617–1621.
Vol. IV.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1622–1624.
Vol. V.—America and West Indies, 1661–1668.

These volumes include an analysis of early Colonial Papers in the Public Record Office, the India Office, and the British Museum.

Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London, (Vols. I.–IV.); and *by* James Gairdner, Esq., (Vol. V.) 1862–1880.

Vol. I.—1509–1514.
Vol. II. (in Two Parts)—1515–1518.
Vol. III. (in Two Parts)—1519–1523.
Vol. IV.—Introduction.
Vol. IV., Part 1.—1524–1526.
Vol. IV., Part 2.—1526–1528.
Vol. IV., Part 3.—1529–1530.
Vol. V.—1531–1532.

These volumes contain summaries of all State Papers and Correspondence relating to the reign of Henry VIII., in the Public Record Office, of those formerly in the State Paper Office, in the British Museum, the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, and other Public Libraries; and of all letters that have appeared in print in the works of Burnet, Strype, and others. Whatever authentic original material exists in England relative to the religious, political, parliamentary, or social history of the country during the reign of Henry VIII., whether despatches of ambassadors, or proceedings of the army, navy, treasury, or ordnance, or records of Parliament, appointments of officers, grants from the Crown, &c., will be found calendared in these volumes.

Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Edward VI., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. 1547–1553. *Edited by* W. B. Turnbull, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, &c. 1861.

Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Mary, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. 1553–1558. *Edited by* W. B. Turnbull, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, &c. 1861.

The two preceding volumes exhibit the negotiations of the English ambassadors with the courts of the Emperor Charles V. of Germany, of Henry II. of France, and of Philip II. of Spain. The affairs of several of the minor continental states also find various incidental illustrations of much interest.

A valuable series of Papers descriptive of the circumstances which attended the loss of Calais merits a special notice; while the progress of the wars in the north of France, into which England was dragged by her union with Spain, is narrated at some length. The domestic affairs of England are of course passed over in these volumes, which treat only of its relations with foreign powers.

Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, &c. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham, (Vols. I.–VII.), and Allan James Crosby, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law, (Vols. VIII.–XI.) 1863–1880.

Vol. I.—1558–1559.
Vol. II.—1559–1560.
Vol. III.—1560–1561.
Vol. IV.—1561–1562.
Vol. V.—1562.
Vol. VI.—1563.
Vol. VII.—1564–1565.
Vol. VIII.—1566–1568.
Vol. IX.—1569–1571.
Vol. X.—1572–1574.
Vol. XI.—1575–1577.

These volumes contain a Calendar of the Foreign Correspondence during the early portion of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, deposited in the Public Record Office, &c. They illustrate not only the external but also the domestic affairs of Foreign Countries during that period.

Calendar of Treasury Papers, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* Joseph Redington, Esq. 1868–1879.

Vol. I.—1557–1696.
Vol. II.—1697–1702.
Vol. III.—1702–1707.
Vol. IV.—1708–1714.

The above Papers connected with the affairs of the Treasury comprise petitions, reports, and other documents relating to services rendered to the State, grants of money and pensions, appointments to offices, remissions of fines and duties, &c. They illustrate civil and military events, finance, the administration in Ireland and the Colonies, &c., and afford information nowhere else recorded.

Calendar of the Carew Papers, preserved in the Lambeth Library. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London; and William Bullen, Esq. 1867–1873.

Vol. I.—1515–1574.
Vol. II.—1575–1588.
Vol. III.—1589–1600.
Vol. IV.—1601–1603.
Vol. V.—Book of Howth; Miscellaneous.
Vol. VI.—1603–1624.

The Carew Papers relating to Ireland, deposited in the Lambeth Library, are unique, and of great importance. The Calendar cannot fail to be welcome to all students of Irish history.

Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* G. A. Bergenroth. 1862–1868.

Vol. I.—Hen. VII.—1485–1509.
Vol. II.—Hen. VIII.—1509–1525.
Supplement to Vol. I. and Vol. II.

Mr. Bergenroth was engaged in compiling a Calendar of the Papers relating to England preserved in the archives of Simancas in Spain, and the corresponding portion removed from Simancas to Paris. Mr. Bergenroth also visited Madrid, and examined the Papers there, bearing on the reign of Henry VIII. The first volume contains the Spanish Papers of the reign of Henry VII.; the second volume, those of the first portion of the reign of Henry VIII. The Supplement contains new information relating to the private life of Queen Katharine of England; and to the projected marriage of Henry VII. with Queen Juana, widow of King Philip of Castile, and mother of the Emperor Charles V.

Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* Don Pascual de Gayangos. 1873–1879.

Vol. III., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1525–1526.
Vol. III., Part 2.—Hen. VIII.—1527–1529.
Vol. IV., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1529–1530.

Upon the death of Mr. Bergenroth, Don Pascual de Gayangos was appointed to continue the Calendar of the Spanish State Papers. He has pursued a similar plan to that of his predecessor, but has been able to add much valuable matter from Brussels and Vienna, with which Mr. Bergenroth was unacquainted.

Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, relating to English Affairs, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* Rawdon Brown, Esq. 1864–1881.

Vol. I.—1202–1509.
Vol. II.—1509–1519.
Vol. III.—1520–1526.
Vol. IV.—1527–1533.
Vol. V.—1534–1554.
Vol. VI., Part I.—1555–1556.
Vol. VI., Part II.—1556–1557.

Mr. Rawdon Brown's researches have brought to light a number of valuable documents relating to various periods of English history; his contributions to historical literature are of the most interesting and important character.

Syllabus, in English, of Rymer's Fœdera. *By* Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. I.—Will. I.–Edw. III.; 1066–1377. Vol. II.—Ric. II.–Chas. II.; 1377–1654. 1869–1873.

The "Fœdera," or "Rymer's Fœdera," is a collection of miscellaneous documents illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Norman Conquest to the reign of Charles II. Several editions of the "Fœdera" have been published, and the present Syllabus was undertaken to make the contents of this great National Work more generally known.

Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records and the Rev. J. S. Brewer to the Master of the Rolls, upon the Carte and Carew Papers in the Bodleian and Lambeth Libraries. 1864. *Price* 2*s*. 6*d*.

Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records to the Master of the Rolls, upon the Documents in the Archives and Public Libraries of Venice. 1866. *Price* 2*s*. 6*d*.

In the Press.

Syllabus, in English, of Rymer's Fœdera. *By* Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. III.—Appendix and Index.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS. Vol. IV., Part 2.—Hen. VIII.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. IV.—1588–1590.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. Vol. VI. —1533, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, DURING THE COMMONWEALTH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. Vol. IX.—1656.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* RAWDON BROWN, Esq. Vol. VI., Part III.—1557–1558.

In Progress.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. Vol. VI.—East Indies, 1625, &c. Vol. VII.—America and West Indies, 1669, &c.

CALENDAR OF TREASURY PAPERS, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. Vol. V.—1714, &c.

CALENDAR OF HOME OFFICE PAPERS OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* RICHARD ARTHUR ROBERTS, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Vol. IV.—1773, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Vol. XII.—1577.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. XVII.—1640.

CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS relating to IRELAND, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London. *Edited by* HENRY SAVAGE SWEETMAN, Esq., B.A., Trinity College, Dublin, Barrister-at-Law (Ireland). Vol. V. —1302, &c.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

[ROYAL 8vo. half-bound. *Price* 10*s.* each Volume or Part.]

On 25 July 1822, the House of Commons presented an address to the Crown, stating that the editions of the works of our ancient historians were inconvenient and defective; that many of their writings still remained in manuscript, and, in some cases, in a single copy only. They added, "that an "uniform and convenient edition of the whole, published under His Majesty's "royal sanction, would be an undertaking honourable to His Majesty's reign, "and conducive to the advancement of historical and constitutional know- "ledge; that the House therefore humbly besought His Majesty, that He "would be graciously pleased to give such directions as His Majesty, in His "wisdom, might think fit, for the publication of a complete edition of the "ancient historians of this realm, and assured His Majesty that whatever "expense might be necessary for this purpose would be made good."

The Master of the Rolls, being very desirous that effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury in 1857 a plan for the publication of the ancient chronicles and memorials of the United Kingdom, and it was adopted accordingly. In selecting these works, it was considered right, in the first instance, to give preference to those of which the manuscripts were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory and authentic information hitherto existed in any accessible form. One great object the Master of the Rolls had in view was to form a *corpus historicum* within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible. In a subject of so vast a range, it was important that the historical student should be able to select such volumes as conformed with his own peculiar tastes and studies, and not be put to the expense of purchasing the whole collection; an inconvenience inseparable from any other plan than that which has been in this instance adopted.

Of the Chronicles and Memorials, the following volumes have been published. They embrace the period from the earliest time of British history down to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

1. THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND, by JOHN CAPGRAVE. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

   Capgrave was prior of Lynn, in Norfolk, and provincial of the order of the Friars Hermits of England shortly before the year 1464. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1417. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (being written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1858.

   This Chronicle traces the history of the great Benedictine monastery of Abingdon in Berkshire, from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I., shortly after which period the present narrative was drawn up by an inmate of the establishment. The author had access to the title-deeds of the house; and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom. The work is printed for the first time.

3. Lives of Edward the Confessor. I.—La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei. II.—Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris. III.—Vita Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

The first is a poem in Norman French, containing 4,686 lines, addressed to Alianor, Queen of Henry III., probably written in 1245, on the restoration of the church of Westminster. Nothing is known of the author. The second is an anonymous poem, containing 536 lines, written between 1440 and 1450, by command of Henry VI., to whom it is dedicated. It does not throw any new light on the reign of Edward the Confessor, but is valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time. The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written for Queen Edith, between 1066 and 1074, during the pressure of the suffering brought on the Saxons by the Norman conquest. It notices many facts not found in other writers, and some which differ considerably from the usual accounts.

4. Monumenta Franciscana. Vol. I.—Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ. Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vol. II.—De Adventu Minorum; re-edited, with additions. Chronicle of the Grey Friars. The ancient English version of the Rule of St. Francis. Abbreviatio Statutorum, 1451, &c. *Edited by* Richard Howlett, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1858, 1882.

The first volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of Saint Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers connected with the foundation and diffusion of this great body. It was the aim of the editor to collect whatever historical information could be found in this country, towards illustrating a period of the national history for which only scanty materials exist. None of these have been before printed. The second volume contains materials found, since the first volume was printed, among the MSS. of Sir Charles Isham, and in various libraries.

5. Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico. Ascribed to Thomas Netter, of Walden, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. *Edited by* the Rev. W. W. Shirley, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

This work derives its principal value from being the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards. When written the disputes of the schoolmen had been extended to the field of theology, and they appear both in the writings of Wycliff and in those of his adversaries. Wycliff's little bundles of tares are not less metaphysical than theological, and the conflict between Nominalists and Realists rages side by side with the conflict between the different interpreters of Scripture. The work gives a good idea of the controversies at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

6. The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece; by William Stewart. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. B. Turnbull, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, and was written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends, and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for in such a work as this; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting if not true; and the chronicle is valuable as a reflection of the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed. The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this metrical version, and the student of language will find ample materials for comparison with the English dialects of the same period, and with modern lowland Scotch.

7. Johannis Capgrave Liber de Illustribus Henricis. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

This work is dedicated to Henry VI. of England, who appears to have been, in the author's estimation, the greatest of all the Henries. It is divided into three parts, each having a separate dedication. The first part relates only to the history of the Empire, and extends from the election of Henry I., the Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second part is devoted to English history, and extends from the accession of Henry I. in 1100, to 1446, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world.

Capgrave was born in 1393, in the reign of Richard II., and lived during the Wars of the Roses, for the history of which period his work is of some value.

8. Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis, by Thomas of Elmham, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. *Edited by* Charles Hardwick, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1418, which shows in outline what was to have been the character of the work when completed. The only copy known is in the possession of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The author was connected with Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham, whence he derived his name.

9. Eulogium (Historiarum sive Temporis): Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* F. S. Haydon, Esq., B.A. 1858–1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England down to the year 1413, was added in the former half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known. The original Chronicle is divided into five books, and contains a history of the world generally, but more especially of England to the year 1366. The continuation extends the history down to the coronation of Henry V. The Eulogium itself is chiefly valuable as containing a history, by a contemporary, of the period between 1356 and 1366. The notices of events appear to have been written very soon after their occurrence. Among other interesting matter, the Chronicle contains a diary of the Poitiers campaign, evidently furnished by some person who accompanied the army of the Black Prince. The continuation of the Chronicle is also the work of a contemporary, and gives a very interesting account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. It is believed to be the earliest authority for the statement that the latter monarch died in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

10. Memorials of Henry the Seventh: Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia. *Edited by* James Gairdner, Esq. 1858.

The contents of this volume are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies on which he was sent by Henry VII. to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in the year 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest in connexion with the period are given in an appendix.

11. Memorials of Henry the Fifth. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V. *Edited by* Charles A. Cole, Esq. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz.: A Life by Robert Redman; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author; Versus Rhythmici, written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V. These works are printed for the first time.

12. MUNIMENTA GILDHALLÆ LONDONIENSIS; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati. Vol. I., Liber Albus. Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum. Vol. III. Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859–1862.

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, a large folio volume, is preserved in the Record Room of the City of London. It gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and early part of the fifteenth centuries.

The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the fourteenth century during the reign of Edward II. The manuscript, a folio volume, is also preserved in the Record Room of the City of London, though some portion in its original state, borrowed from the City in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and never returned, forms part of the Cottonian MS. Claudius D. II. in the British Museum. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the twelfth, thirteenth, and early part of the fourteenth centuries.

13. CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES. *Edited by* Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England in the year 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and comes down to the year 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the kingdom, which are not to be elsewhere obtained, and some curious facts are mentioned relative to the floods in that part of England, which are confirmed in the Friesland Chronicle of Anthony Heinrich, pastor of the Island of Mohr.

14. A COLLECTION OF POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS RELATING TO ENGLISH HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1859–1861.

These Poems are perhaps the most interesting of all the historical writings of the period, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy of statement. They are various in character; some are upon religious subjects, some may be called satires, and some give no more than a court scandal; but as a whole they present a very fair picture of society, and of the relations of the different classes to one another. The period comprised is in itself interesting, and brings us, through the decline of the feudal system, to the beginning of our modern history. The songs in old English are of considerable value to the philologist.

15. The "OPUS TERTIUM," "OPUS MINUS," &c., of ROGER BACON. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.

This is the celebrated treatise—never before printed—so frequently referred to by the great philosopher in his works. It contains the fullest details we possess of the life and labours of Roger Bacon: also a fragment by the same author, supposed to be unique, the "*Compendium Studii Theologiæ.*"

16. BARTHOLOMÆI DE COTTON, MONACHI NORWICENSIS, HISTORIA ANGLICANA; 449–1298: necnon ejusdem Liber de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1859.

The author, a monk of Norwich, has here given us a Chronicle of England from the arrival of the Saxons in 449 to the year 1298, in or about which year it appears that he died. The latter portion of this history (the whole of the reign of Edward I. more especially) is of great value, as the writer was contemporary with the events which he records. An Appendix contains several illustrative documents connected with the previous narrative.

17. Brut y Tywysogion; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. *Edited by* the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A. 1860.

This work, also known as "The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales," has been attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. It is written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Caedwala at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. A Collection of Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV. 1399–1404. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.

This volume, like all the others in the series containing a miscellaneous selection of letters, is valuable on account of the light it throws upon biographical history, and the familiar view it presents of characters, manners, and events. The period requires much elucidation; to which it will materially contribute.

19. The Repressor of over much Blaming of the Clergy. By Reginald Pecock, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Churchill Babington, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. While Bishop of St. Asaph, he zealously defended his brother prelates from the attacks of those who censured the bishops for their neglect of duty. He maintained that it was no part of a bishop's functions to appear in the pulpit, and that his time might be more profitably spent, and his dignity better maintained, in the performance of works of a higher character. Among those who thought differently were the Lollards, and against their general doctrines the "Repressor" is directed. Pecock took up a position midway between that of the Roman Church and that of the modern Anglican Church; but his work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and of the arguments by which they were supported, and because it assists us to ascertain the state of feeling which ultimately led to the Reformation. Apart from religious matters, the light thrown upon contemporaneous history is very small, but the "Repressor" has great value for the philologist, as it tells us what were the characteristics of the language in use among the cultivated Englishmen of the fifteenth century. Pecock, though an opponent of the Lollards, showed a certain spirit of toleration, for which he received, towards the end of his life, the usual mediæval reward—persecution.

20. Annales Cambriæ. *Edited by* the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in the year 447, and come down to the year 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle, which was also used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. During its first century it contains scarcely anything relating to Britain, the earliest direct concurrence with English history is relative to the mission of Augustine. Its notices throughout, though brief, are valuable. The annals were probably written at St. Davids, by Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, the most learned man in his day in all Cymru.

21. The Works of Giraldus Cambrensis. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V., VI., and VII. *Edited by* the Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1861–1877.

These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, and attempted to re-establish the independence of Wales by restoring the see of St. Davids to its ancient primacy. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable chiefly for the racy and original anecdotes which they contain relating to contemporaries. He is the only Welsh writer of any importance who has contributed so much to the mediæval literature of this country, or assumed, in consequence of his nationality, so free and independent a tone. His frequent travels in Italy, in France, in Ireland, and in Wales, gave him opportunities for observation which did not generally fall to the lot of mediæval writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of these observations Giraldus has made due use. Only extracts from these treatises have been printed before, and almost all of them are taken from unique manuscripts.

The Topographia Hibernica (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland. The first in the year 1183, the second in 1185–6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. Curious as this treatise is, Mr. Dimock is of opinion that it ought not to be accepted as sober truthful history, for Giraldus himself states that truth was not his main object, and that he compiled the work for the purpose of sounding the praises of Henry the Second. Elsewhere, however, he declares that he had stated nothing in the Topographia of the truth of which he was not well assured, either by his own eyesight or by the testimony, with all diligence elicited, of the most trustworthy and authentic men in the country; that though he did not put just the same full faith in their reports as in what he had himself seen, yet, as they only related what they had themselves seen, he could not but believe such credible witnesses. A very interesting portion of this treatise is devoted to the animals of Ireland. It shows that he was a very accurate and acute observer, and his descriptions are given in a way that a scientific naturalist of the present day could hardly improve upon. The Expugnatio Hibernica was written about the year 1188 and may be regarded rather as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. No one can peruse it without coming to the conclusion that it is rather a poetical fiction than a prosaic truthful history.

Vol. VI. contains the Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ: and Vol. VII., the lives of S. Remigius and S. Hugh.

22. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England. Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861–1864.

The letters and papers contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from originals or contemporary copies extant in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and the Depôt des Archives, in Paris. They illustrate the line of policy adopted by John Duke of Bedford and his successors during their government of Normandy, and such other provinces of France as had been acquired by Henry V. We may here trace, step by step, the gradual declension of the English power, until we are prepared to read of its final overthrow.

23. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, according to the several Original Authorities. Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* Benjamin Thorpe, Esq., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

This Chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to the year 1154, is justly the boast of England; for no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, either in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted. There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography, whether arising from locality or age.

24. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* James Gairdner, Esq. 1861–1863.

The Papers are derived from MSS. in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from these documents is of special importance. The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. Letters of Bishop Grosseteste, illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste (131 in number) are here collected from various sources, and a large portion of them is printed for the first time. They range in date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066–1200. Vol. III.; 1200–1327. *By* Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1862–1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. This arrangement has two advantages; the materials for any given period may be seen at a glance; and if the reader knows the time when an author wrote, and the number of years that had elapsed between the date of the events and the time the writer flourished, he will generally be enabled to form a fair estimate of the comparative value of the narrative itself. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which the original portions are distinguished from those which are mere compilations. When possible, the sources are indicated from which such compilations have been derived. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice has also been given of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. Vol. I., 1216–1235. Vol. II., 1236–1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. Shirley, D.D., Regius Professor in Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862–1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence formerly in the Tower of London, and now in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of them, especially in regard to the province of Gascony. The entire collection consists of nearly 700 documents, the greater portion of which is printed for the first time.

28. Chronica Monasterii S. Albani.—1. Thomæ Walsingham Historia Anglicana; Vol. I., 1272–1381: Vol. II., 1381–1422. 2. Willelmi Rishanger Chronica et Annales, 1259–1307. 3. Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blaneforde Chronica et Annales, 1259–1296; 1307–1324; 1392–1406. 4. Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani, a Thoma Walsingham, regnante Ricardo Secundo, ejusdem Ecclesiæ Præcentore, compilata; Vol. I., 793–1290: Vol. II., 1290–1349: Vol. III., 1349–1411. 5. Johannis Amundesham, Monachi Monasterii S. Albani, ut videtur, Annales; Vols. I.

and II. 6. Registra quorundam Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani, qui sæculo xv^{mo} floruere; Vol. I., Registrum Abbatiæ Johannis Whethamstede, Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Albani, iterum susceptæ; Roberto Blakeney, Capellano, quondam adscriptum: Vol. II., Registra Johannis Whethamstede, Willelmi Albon, et Willelmi Walingforde, Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani, cum Appendice, continente quasdam Epistolas, a Johanne Whethamstede Conscriptas. 7. Ypodigma Neustriæ, a Thoma Walsingham, quondam Monacho Monasterii S. Albani, conscriptum. *Edited by* Henry Thomas Riley, Esq., M.A., Cambridge and Oxford; and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1876.

In the first two volumes is a History of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans, from MS. VII. in the Arundel Collection in the College of Arms, London, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, collated with MS. 13 E. IX. in the King's Library in the British Museum, and MS. VII. in the Parker Collection of Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

In the third volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, who lived in the reign of Edward I., from the Cotton. MS. Faustina B. IX. in the British Museum, collated with MS. 14 C. VII. (fols. 219–231) in the King's Library, British Museum, and the Cotton MS. Claudius E. III., fols. 306–331: an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol, 1291–1292, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., also attributed to William Rishanger, but on no sufficient ground: a short Chronicle of English History, 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: a short Chronicle Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi, Regis Angliæ, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library, and MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., with Annales Regum Angliæ, probably by the same hand: and fragments of three Chronicles of English History, 1285 to 1307.

In the fourth volume is a Chronicle of English History, 1259 to 1296, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: Annals of Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, and a continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henry de Blaneforde, both from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: a full Chronicle of English History, 1392 to 1406, from MS. VII. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and an account of the Benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the fifteenth century, from MS. VI. in the same Library.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, from MS. Cotton. Claudius E. IV., in the British Museum: with a Continuation, from the closing pages of Parker MS. VII., in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The eighth and ninth volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle, probably by John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The tenth and eleventh volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford, and may be considered as a memorial of the chief historical and domestic events during those periods.

The twelfth volume contains a compendious History of England to the reign of Henry V., and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsingham, and dedicated to Henry V. The compiler has often substituted other authorities in place of those consulted in the preparation of his larger work.

29. Chronicon Abbatiæ Eveshamensis, Auctoribus Dominico Priore Eveshamiæ et Thoma de Marleberge Abbate, a Fundatione ad Annum 1213, una cum Continuatione ad Annum 1418. *Edited by* the Rev. W. D. Macray, M.A., Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Egwin, about 690, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history which will be read with much interest. This work exists in a single MS., and is for the first time printed.

30. RICARDI DE CIRENCESTRIA SPECULUM HISTORIALE DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLIÆ. Vol. I., 447–871. Vol. II., 872–1066. *Edited by* JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863–1869.

The compiler, Richard of Cirencester, was a monk of Westminster, 1355–1400. In 1391 he obtained a licence to make a pilgrimage to Rome. His history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. He announces his intention of continuing it, but there is no evidence that he completed any more. This chronicle gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book iii. c. 3. It was on this author that C. J. Bertram fathered his forgery, *De Situ Brittaniæ*, in 1747.

31. YEAR BOOKS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIRST. Years 20–21, 21–22, 30–31, 32–33, and 33–35. *Edited and translated by* ALFRED JOHN HORWOOD, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1879.

The volumes known as the "Year Books" contain reports in Norman-French of cases argued and decided in the Courts of Common Law. They may be considered to a great extent as the "lex non scripta" of England, and have been held in the highest veneration by the ancient sages of the law, and were received by them as the repositories of the first recorded judgments and dicta of the great legal luminaries of past ages. They are also worthy of the attention of the general reader on account of the historical information and the notices of public and private persons which they contain, as well as the light which they throw on ancient manners and customs.

32. NARRATIVES OF THE EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH FROM NORMANDY, 1449–1450.—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normendie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conferences between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited, from MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham. 1863.

This volume contains the narrative of an eye-witness who details with considerable power and minuteness the circumstances which attended the final expulsion of the English from Normandy in the year 1450. The history commences with the infringement of the truce by the capture of Fougères, and ends with the battle of Formigny and the embarkation of the Duke of Somerset. The whole period embraced is less than two years.

33. HISTORIA ET CARTULARIUM MONASTERII S. PETRI GLOUCESTRIÆ. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. H. HART, Esq., F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863–1867.

This work consists of two parts, the History and the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester. The history furnishes an account of the monastery from its foundation, in the year 681, to the early part of the reign of Richard II., together with a calendar of donations and benefactions. It treats principally of the affairs of the monastery, but occasionally matters of general history are introduced. Its authorship has generally been assigned to Walter Froucester, the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

34. ALEXANDRI NECKAM DE NATURIS RERUM LIBRI DUO; with NECKAM'S POEM, DE LAUDIBUS DIVINÆ SAPIENTIÆ. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1863.

Neckam was a man who devoted himself to science, such as it was in the twelfth century. In the "De Naturis Rerum" are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam was not thought infallible, even by his contemporaries, for Roger Bacon remarks of him, "this Alexander in many things wrote what was true and useful; "but he neither can nor ought by just title to be reckoned among authorities." Neckam, however, had sufficient independence of thought to differ from some of the schoolmen who in his time considered themselves the only judges of literature. He had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century. The poem entitled "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ" appears to be a metrical paraphrase or abridgment of the "De Naturis Rerum." It is written in the elegiac metre;

and though there are many lines which violate classical rules, it is, as a whole, above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

35. Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest. Vols. I., II., and III. *Collected and edited by* the Rev. T. Oswald Cockayne, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1864–1866.

This work illustrates not only the history of science, but the history of superstition. In addition to the information bearing directly upon the medical skill and medical faith of the times, there are many passages which incidentally throw light upon the general mode of life and ordinary diet. The volumes are interesting not only in their scientific, but also in their social aspect. The manuscripts from which they have been printed are valuable to the Anglo-Saxon scholar for the illustrations they afford of Anglo-Saxon orthography.

36. Annales Monastici. Vol. I.:—Annales de Margan, 1066–1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066–1263; Annales de Burton, 1004–1263. Vol. II.:—Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519–1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1–1291. Vol. III.:—Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1–1297. Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia, 1042–1432. Vol. IV.:—Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016–1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066–1289; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1–1377. Vol. V.:—Index and Glossary. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registrary of the University, Cambridge. 1864–1869.

The present collection of Monastic Annals embraces all the more important chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432, although they refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I. Some of these narratives have already appeared in print, but others are printed for the first time.

37. Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolniensis. From Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Imperial Library, Paris. *Edited by* the Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and being the work of a contemporary, is very valuable, not only as a truthful biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic, but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs. The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham. He was domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh, and in these capacities was admitted to the closest intimacy. Bishop Hugh was Prior of Witham for 11 years before he became Bishop of Lincoln. His consecration took place on the 21st September 1186; he died on the 16th of November 1200; and was canonized in 1220.

38. Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard the First. Vol. I.:—Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi. Vol. II.:—Epistolæ Cantuarienses; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199. *Edited by* William Stubbs, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864–1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in December 1189 to his death in 1199. The author states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records; and various incidental circumstances which occur in the course of the narrative confirm this assertion.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to

found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury, who saw in it a design to supplant them in their function of metropolitan chapter. These letters are printed, for the first time, from a MS. belonging to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

39. Recueil des Croniques et anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretaigne a present nomme Engleterre, par Jehan de Waurin. Vol. I. Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399–1422. Vol. III., 1422–1431. *Edited by* William Hardy, Esq., F.S.A. 1864–1879.

40. A Collection of the Chronicles and ancient Histories of Great Britain, now called England, by John de Wavrin. Albina to 688. (Translation of the preceding Vol. I.) *Edited and translated by* William Hardy, Esq., F.S.A. 1864.

This curious chronicle extends from the fabulous period of history down to the return of Edward IV. to England in the year 1471 after the second deposition of Henry VI. The manuscript from which the text of the work is taken is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and is believed to be the only complete and nearly contemporary copy in existence. The work, as originally bound, was comprised in six volumes, since rebound in morocco in 12 volumes, folio maximo, vellum, and is illustrated with exquisite miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters. It was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Blois.

41. Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Churchill Babington, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vols. III., IV., V., VI., and VII. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Rawson Lumby, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Vicar of St. Edward's, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865–1879.

This is one of the many mediæval chronicles which assume the character of a history of the world. It begins with the creation, and is brought down to the author's own time, the reign of Edward III. Prefixed to the historical portion, is a chapter devoted to geography, in which is given a description of every known land. To say that the Polychronicon was written in the fourteenth century is to say that it is not free from inaccuracies. It has, however, a value apart from its intrinsic merits. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth. The differences between Trevisa's version and that of the unknown writer are often considerable.

42. Le Livere de Reis de Brittanie e Le Livere de Reis de Engletere. *Edited by* John Glover, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treatises, though they cannot rank as independent narratives, are nevertheless valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians, especially "Le Livere de Reis de Engletere." Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonized French.

It is supposed that Peter of Ickham must have been the author, but no certain conclusion on that point has been arrived at.

43. Chronica Monasterii de Melsa, ab Anno 1150 usque ad Annum 1406. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* Edward Augustus Bond, Esq., Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866–1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is both curious and valuable. It is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country. In addition to the private affairs of the monastery, some light is thrown upon the public events of the time, which are however kept distinct, and appear at the end of the history of each abbot's administration. The text has been printed from what is said to be the autograph of the original compiler, Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot.

44. Matthæi Parisiensis Historia Anglorum, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, Historia Minor. Vols. I., II., and III. 1067–1253. *Edited by* Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1866–1869.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicler, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed the Conquest. This minor chronicle is, however, based on another work (also written by Matthew Paris) giving fuller details, which has been called the "Historia Major." The chronicle here published, nevertheless, gives some information not to be found in the greater history.

45. Liber Monasterii de Hyda: a Chronicle and Chartulary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester, 455–1023. *Edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, by* Edward Edwards, Esq. 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify—either from tradition or from sources of information not now discoverable—the statements, which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Mediæval English.

46. Chronicon Scotorum: a Chronicle of Irish Affairs, from the Earliest Times to 1135; with a Supplement, containing the Events from 1141 to 1150. *Edited, with a Translation, by* William Maunsell Hennessy, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1866.

There is, in this volume, a legendary account of the peopling of Ireland and of the adventures which befell the various heroes who are said to have been connected with Irish history. The details are, however, very meagre both for this period and for the time when history becomes more authentic. The plan adopted in the chronicle gives the appearance of an accuracy to which the earlier portions of the work cannot have any claim. The succession of events is marked, year by year, from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1150. The principal events narrated in the later portion of the work are, the invasions of foreigners, and the wars of the Irish among themselves. The text has been printed from a MS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written partly in Latin, partly in Irish.

47. The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, in French Verse, from the earliest Period to the Death of Edward I. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A. 1866–1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and that he lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum," in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, down to the death of Henry III., and in the third a history of the reign of Edward I. The principal object of the work was apparently to show the justice of Edward's Scottish wars. The language is singularly corrupt, and a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or, The Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen. *Edited, with a Translation, by* James Henthorn Todd, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, Dublin. 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an undoubtedly ancient original. That it was compiled from contemporary materials has been proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in the account given of the battle of Clontarf that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23 April 1014) coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide in the evening aided considerably in the defeat of the Danes. The fact has been verified by astronomical calculations, and the inference is that the author of the chronicle, if not himself an eye-witness, must have derived his information from those who were eye-witnesses. The contents of the work are sufficiently described in its title. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas, with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative.

49. Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis. The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., 1169–1192, known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.

This chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, is one of the best existing specimens of a class of historical compositions of the first importance to the student.

50. Munimenta Academica, or, Documents illustrative of Academical Life and Studies at Oxford (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. Henry Anstey, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

This work will supply materials for a History of Academical Life and Studies in the University of Oxford during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

51. Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1868–1871.

This work has long been justly celebrated, but not thoroughly understood until Mr. Stubbs' edition. The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little, and not always judiciously. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (*see* No. 49); but it is not a copy, being sometimes an abridgment, at others a paraphrase; occasionally the two works entirely agree; showing that both writers had access to the same materials, but dealt with them differently. From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work: it is extremely valuable, and an authority of the first importance.

52. Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum Libri Quinque. *Edited, from William of Malmesbury's Autograph MS., by* N. E. S. A. Hamilton, Esq., of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

William of Malmesbury's "Gesta Pontificum" is the principal foundation of English Ecclesiastical Biography, down to the year 1122. The manuscript which has been followed in this Edition is supposed by Mr. Hamilton to be the author's autograph, containing his latest additions and amendments.

53. Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland, from the Archives of the City of Dublin, &c. 1172–1320. *Edited by* John T. Gilbert, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland. 1870.

A collection of original documents, elucidating mainly the history and condition of the municipal, middle, and trading classes under or in relation with the rule of England in Ireland,—a subject hitherto in almost total obscurity. Extending over the first hundred and fifty years of the Anglo-Norman settlement, the series includes charters, municipal laws and regulations, rolls of names of citizens and members of merchant-guilds, lists of commodities with their rates, correspondence, illustrations of relations between ecclesiastics and laity; together with many documents exhibiting the state of Ireland during the presence there of the Scots under Robert and Edward Bruce.

54. The Annals of Loch Cé. A Chronicle of Irish Affairs, from 1014 to 1590. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with a Translation, by* William Maunsell Hennessy, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1871.

The original of this chronicle has passed under various names. The title of "Annals of Loch Cé" was given to it by Professor O'Curry, on the ground that it was transcribed for Brian Mac Dermot, an Irish chieftain, who resided on the island in Loch Cé, in the county of Roscommon. It adds much to the materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland; and contains many curious references to English and foreign affairs, not noticed in any other chronicle.

55. Monumenta Juridica. The Black Book of the Admiralty, with Appendices. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* Sir Travers Twiss, Q.C., D.C.L. 1871–1876.

This book contains the ancient ordinances and laws relating to the navy, and was probably compiled for the use of the Lord High Admiral of England. Selden calls it the "jewel of the Admiralty Records." Prynne ascribes to the Black Book the same authority in the Admiralty as the Black and Red Books have in the Court of Exchequer, and most English writers on maritime law recognize its importance.

56. Memorials of the Reign of Henry VI.:—Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, Secretary to Henry VI., and Bishop of Bath and Wells. *Edited, from a MS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, with an Appendix of Illustrative Documents, by* the Rev. George Williams, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Vols. I. and II. 1872.

These curious volumes are of a miscellaneous character, and were probably compiled under the immediate direction of Bekynton before he had attained to the Episcopate. They contain many of the Bishop's own letters, and several written by him in the King's name; also letters to himself while Royal Secretary, and others addressed to the King. This work elucidates some points in the history of the nation during the first half of the fifteenth century.

57. Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora. Vol. I. The Creation to A.D. 1066. Vol. II. A.D. 1067 to A.D. 1216. Vol. III. A.D. 1216 to A.D. 1239. Vol. IV. A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1247. Vol. V. A.D. 1248 to A.D. 1259. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Registrary of the University, and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. 1872–1880.

This work contains the "Chronica Majora" of Matthew Paris, one of the most valuable and frequently consulted of the ancient English Chronicles. It is published from its commencement, for the first time. The editions by Archbishop Parker, and William Wats, severally begin at the Norman Conquest.

58. Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria.—The Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, from the MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by* William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1872–1873.

This work, now printed in full for the first time, has long been a *desideratum* by Historical Scholars. The first portion, however, is not of much importance, being only a compilation from earlier writers. The part relating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century is the most valuable and interesting.

59. The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century. Vols. I. and II. *Collected and edited by* Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., Corresponding Member of the National Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres). 1872.

The Poems contained in these volumes have long been known and appreciated as the best satires of the age in which their authors flourished, and were deservedly popular during the 13th and 14th centuries.

60. Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII., from original Documents preserved in the Public Record Office. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. William Campbell, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. 1873–1877.

These volumes are valuable as illustrating the acts and proceedings of Henry VII. on ascending the throne, and shadow out the policy he afterwards adopted.

61. Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers. *Edited by* James Raine, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society. 1873.

The documents in this volume illustrate, for the most part, the general history of the north of England, particularly in its relation to Scotland.

62. Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense. The Register of Richard de Kellawe, Lord Palatine and Bishop of Durham; 1311–1316. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1873–1878.

Bishop Kellawe's Register contains the proceedings of his prelacy, both lay and ecclesiastical, and is the earliest Register of the Palatinate of Durham.

63. Memorials of Saint Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury. *Edited, from various MSS., by* William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1874.

This volume contains several lives of Archbishop Dunstan, one of the most celebrated Primates of Canterbury. They open various points of Historical and Literary interest, without which our knowledge of the period would be more incomplete than it is at present.

64. Chronicon Angliæ, ab Anno Domini 1328 usque ad Annum 1388, auctore Monacho quodam Sancti Albani. *Edited by* Edward Maunde Thompson, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, and Assistant-Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. 1874.

This chronicle gives a circumstantial history of the close of the reign of Edward III. which has hitherto been considered lost.

65. Thómas Saga Erkibyskups. A Life of Archbishop Thomas Becket, in Icelandic. Vol. I. *Edited, with English Translation, Notes, and Glossary, by* M. Eiríkr Magnússon, Sub-Librarian of the University Library, Cambridge. 1875.

This work is derived from the Life of Becket written by Benedict of Peterborough, and apparently supplies the missing portions in Benedict's biography.

66. Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A. 1875.

This volume contains the "Chronicon Anglicanum," by Ralph of Coggeshall, the "Libellus de Expugnatione Terræ Sanctæ per Saladinum," usually ascribed to the same author, and other pieces of an interesting character.

67. Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Vols. I., II., III., IV., and V. *Edited by* the Rev. James Craigie Robertson, M.A., Canon of Canterbury. 1875–1881.

This Publication will comprise all contemporary materials for the history of Archbishop Thomas Becket. The first volume contains the life of that celebrated man, and the miracles after his death, by William, a monk of Canterbury. The second, the life by Benedict of Peterborough; John of Salisbury; Alan of Tewkesbury; and Edward Grim. The third, the life by William Fitzstephen; and Herbert of Bosham. The fourth, Anonymous lives, Quadrilogus, &c. The fifth, the Epistles, and other known letters.

68. Radulfi de Diceto Decani Lundoniensis Opera Historica. The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, from the Original Manuscripts, by* William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1876.

The Historical Works of Ralph de Diceto are some of the most valuable materials for British History. The Abbreviationes Chronicorum extend from the Creation to 1147, and the Ymagines Historiarum to 1201.

69. Roll of the Proceedings of the King's Council in Ireland, for a Portion of the 16th Year of the Reign of Richard II. 1392–93. *Edited by* the Rev. James Graves, A.B. 1877.

This Roll throws considerable light on the History of Ireland at a period little known. It seems the only document of the kind extant.

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This is a new edition of Bracton's celebrated work, collated with MSS. in the British Museum; the Libraries of Lincoln's Inn, Middle Temple, and Gray's Inn; Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; &c.

71. The Historians of the Church of York, and its Archbishops. Vol. I. *Edited by* James Raine, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society. 1879.

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72. Registrum Malmesburiense. The Register of Malmesbury Abbey; preserved in the Public Record Office. Vol. I. and II. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Preacher at the Rolls, and Rector of Toppesfield, and Charles Trice Martin, Esq., B.A. 1879, 1880.

This work throws light upon many curious points of history, and illustrates the growth of society, the distribution and cultivation of land, the relations of landlord and tenant, and national history and customs.

73. Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury. Vols. I. and II. The Chronicle of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard I., by Gervase, the Monk of Canterbury. *Edited by* William Stubbs, D.D.; Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, London; Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford; &c. 1879, 1880.

The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury are of great importance, as regards the questions of Church and State, during the period in which he wrote. This work was printed by Twysden, in the "Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X.," more than two centuries ago. The present edition has received critical examination and illustration.

74. Henrici Archidiaconi Huntendunensis Historia Anglorum. The History of the English, by Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, from A.C. 55 to A.D. 1154, in Eight Books. *Edited by* Thomas Arnold, M.A., of University College, Oxford. 1879.

Henry of Huntingdon's work was first printed by Sir Henry Savile, in 1596, in his "Scriptores post Bedam," and reprinted at Frankfort in 1601. Both editions are very rare and inaccurate. The first five books of the History were published in 1848 in the "Monumenta Historica Britannica," which is out of print. The present volume contains the whole of the manuscript of Huntingdon's History in eight books, collated with a manuscript lately discovered at Paris.

75. The Historical Works of Symeon of Durham. Vol. I. *Edited by* Thomas Arnold, M.A., of University College, Oxford.

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* For some reason left unexplained, many parts were left unsurveyed; Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, are not described in the survey; nor does Lancashire appear under its proper name; but Furness, and the northern part of Lancashire, as well as the south of Westmoreland, with a part of Cumberland, are included within the West Riding of Yorkshire. That part of Lancashire which lies between the Ribble and Mersey, and which at the time of the survey comprehended 688 manors, is joined to Cheshire. Part of Rutland is described in the counties of Northampton and Lincoln.

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